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CONTENTS

Chapter	Pages
I. The people and their land	1-8
II. Settlement Pattern	9-15
III. Living conditions	16-23
IV. Economic Life	24-43
V. Life Cycle	44-58
VI. Youth Organization	59-73
VII. Religious Beliefs and Practices	74-83
VIII. Leadership Pattern	84-93
IX. Conclusion	97-98

LIST OF TABLES

No. Name of the Tables	Page
1. Juang Population of 1961 and their distribution	3
2. Division of Labour between the Sexes	26
3. Types of Land and the associated ownership pattern	30
4. Types of Land and the Crops harvested	33
5. Months and the Associated Agricultural Operations	34
6. Food materials collected from the Jungle	36
7. Months of the year and types of fruits, roots, tubers, etc., available in each month.	36
8. Domestic animals and their use	41
9. Types of Marriages in Juang Society	44
10. Age Grades in Juang Society	51
11. Duties of different Age-groups in Juang Youth Organisation	54
12. Annual Festive Cycle	59

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

No.	Name of the Photographs.	Facing page.
1.	A Juang couple of Keonjhar	2
2.	An old woman of Barura	4
3.	The author with a house-wife	6
4.	Cleaning cow-shed is a must for women	16
5.	Grinding ragi	18
6.	Preparing leaf-cups	20
7.	Husking in hand operated pestle	22
8.	Husking lever is a new introduction in hill villages	24
9.	Reaping crops from hill-clearing	32
10.	On way to market with mats	34
11.	Basket-making in Pallabera	40
12.	A girl captured for marriage from a weekly market	50
13.	Bride and groom are given a ceremonial bath	52
14.	Formal handing over of bride-wealth to the bride's agnates	54
15.	A view of the boy's dormitory (Majang) in Barura	66
16.	Inside the Majang the girls are winnowing paddy to be stored in the common fund of the boys and the girls. Bundles of paddy in straw packets are kept on a wooden platform. The Chongus and drums are kept on the walls.	68
17.	Juang dance.	70

FOREWORD

This is a handbook on the Hill Juangs of Keonjhar who are one of the most backward groups of the State. They have their own language and customs and practices which they retain even now despite considerable changes which have taken place in the tribal life of the country in general and the State in particular. Primarily being a group dependant on shifting cultivation the Hill Juangs of Keonjhar who claim to be autochthones of high-land of Keonjhar with Gonasika the source or river Baitarani as the most significant landmark, have been seldom studied in detail. Their physical aspects and material life were studied by a few scholars in the past. In pursuance of the decision to prepare monographic handbooks of the important tribes of the State this work was assigned to Shri Sita Prasad Rout, Research Officer (then a Junior Research Officer). Shri Rout had experience of field work among the tribe and that knowledge and experience have been properly conjoined for this monograph to show the multiple aspect of Juang life. This cannot be claimed as a comprehensive study but we hope that this could provide a suitable base line for anthropologists, administrators and scholars from different walks of life to appreciate and understand the life of the Hill Juangs. We hope that this small work will be judged in its proper perspective.

Editors

CHAPTER 1

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LAND

The People

Juang, one of the major aboriginal tribes of Orissa, are found in the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. Very little is known about their history, but they have their oral tales about their origin. According to Dr. V. Elwin, the word 'Juang' in the tribal dialect means simply 'man'. An alternative term, which their neighbours use to denote the Juang is *Puttoo*, meaning the wearer of leaf-dress though leaf-dress has long been abandoned since the time when Captain J. Johnstone forced the Juang to wear clothes. The Juang call themselves 'Juang', and fail to give the real connotation of the term. They are medium in stature with long head, prominent cheek bone, and broad nose having depression at the root. Their hair is black and coarse and the skin colour varies from brown to black. Except a few they possess fairly strong body-build. On the basis of their linguistic affinities the Juang are grouped as Mundari, and they speak a dialect known as Juang.

Early accounts on the Juang give a varied picture of the tribe. The first flash of light thrown on

the Juang was by E. A. Samuels in 1866. In the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal", he wrote :

"The dress of the men is ordinary one of the native peasantry, but the women wear no clothes whatsoever. Their only covering consists of two large branches of leaves (or rather of twigs with the leaves attached). It is from this original custom that the tribe have obtained from their neighbours the name of *Puttoo* *qua* the people of the leaf..... No covering is worn on the upper part of the person; but most of the females I have seen had necklaces of coloured earthenware beads (made by themselves they told me). Their villages are small, seldom containing more than six or eight families... The *Puttoo* do not themselves own land, although they sometimes we were told, assist in its cultivation. The pursuits are chiefly those of the chase."

The next account of the Juang written by Colonel Dalton, appears in "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal", 1872. According to him the Juang were, "in habits and customs the most primitive people"

he had "met with or read of", and he considered the Juang as survival "of the stone age in situ". There huts were "amongst the smallest that human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings", though the dormitory was "a building of some pretensions".

W. W. Hunter's "A statistical Account of Bengal", published in 1877, describes the Juang, their dress, and their economy. "The men wore a single cotton cloth. The women had not even this, but simply a string round their waist, with a bunch of leaves before and behind. The life they live best is to wander about the wood collecting wild products, which they barter for food".

In 1891, H. H. Risley published his "The tribes and castes of Bengal". He gave an elaborate list of the Juang clans and described the social status of the people. He describes that the Juang "are beyond the pale of Hinduism, and no member of any recognized caste will eat or drink with them. Juangs themselves will take cooked food, water and sweet meats from the Bhunjas, but a Bhunja will not take even water from a Juang. In course of time no doubt they will attain a higher social position and the first step in this direction has already been taken by their partial adoption of some of the Hindu Gods".

Prof. N. K. Bose's article on "Juang Associations" was published in *Man in India*, Vol IX, 1929. Mr. Bose gives an elaborate list of Juang clans and describes their dormitory life and kinship system.

Mr. Vivian Meik's book, "The people of the Leaves" published in 1931 gives a picture of the Juang which is far from truth and reality. In the words of Dr. Verrier Elwin, Meik's "worthless book would not deserve mention" which is "refreshingly free from the pedantry of maps and names either of people or places".

The most exhaustive paper on the Juang written by Dr. Verrier Elwin appeared in "Man in India", Vol. XXVIII, 1948 Nos. 1 and 2. Dr. Elwin toured in Juang villages of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal and described many aspects of Juang life and culture; but the fact that he spent most of his time in Dhenkanal and Palahara and collected his data mostly from these areas and, apt from Keonjhar led him to write on many things which are not typical Juang customs.

Population and Distribution

The population figures of the Juang show a great variation from time to time. At the time of E. A. Samuelle, in 1857, the Juang were estimated to be 1,000 in Dhenkanal inhabiting 58 different localities; while at the time of E. T. Dalton's survey they numbered about 3,000 in Keonjhar alone. W. W. Hunter gives their number and distribution as follows—

Place where the Juang are found	Total population
1. Keonjhar	4,592
2. Dhenkanal	4,120
3. Palahara	367
4. Hindol	290
5. Bauli	290
Total	9,659



A Young Couple of Kozolpur

The population of the Juang, as estimated by the Census of India from time to time is stated below:—

Year of enumeration	Total population of the Juang
1891	9,173
1901	11,159
1911	12,823
1921	10,454
1931	15,074
1941	17,003
1951	12,559
1961	21,890

The above figures show sudden fall of the Juang population in 1931 and in 1951. A fall of the population from 12,823 (in 1911) to 10,454, i.e., 2,369 souls is indicated in 1921, but the fall is still more significant in 1931. The Juang population of 1941 was 17,003, but after a decade the figure came down to 12,559, showing a decrease of population by 4,443 souls. The population and distribution of the Juang as estimated by 1961 census are given in the following table.

TABLE I

Table showing the Juang population of 1961 and their distribution

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Konajar	5,028	4,740	9,768
2.	Dhenkanal	3,587	3,964	11,551
3.	Cuttack	183	233	416
4.	Koraput	76	76	152
5.	Mayurbhanj	1	1	2
Total		10,877	11,013	21,890
Percentage		49.64	50.36	

In Keonjhar the Juang are found in four Pirs (maximal territorial organization) and their figure in Dhenkanal includes those living in Pallabara. The Juang of Cuttack, Karpur and Mayurbhanj as enumerated by the 1961 Census are labourers who migrated to such place for a temporary period for construction work. Out of the total population 40-64 per cent are males and 50-56 per cent are females and 26 persons live in urban areas. In education they are far behind the general mass and their percentage of illiteracy is as much as 95-48 in general which is 91-36 for males and 90-56 for females.

The Juang cover a block of hill and forest country in south and west of Keonjhar, on the hills and plains of Pallabara to the east and in the plains villages of Dhenkanal along the southern border. Keonjhar is viewed to be the true "mati prithvi" of the Juang, where they originated and where from they migrated to Pallabara and Dhenkanal. Keonjhar located in northern part of the State lies between $21^{\circ} 1'$ North and $22^{\circ} 10'$ North latitudes and $86^{\circ} 11'$ East and $86^{\circ} 22'$ East longitudes and has a total area of 3,216-5 Sq. miles or 8,330-7 Sq. Kms. It is broadly divided into Upper and Lower Keonjhar, the lower area consisting of a fertile and thickly populated plain, and the hill and forest clad upper part being the abode of the Juang and Pauri Bhuinya. The Juang area of Keonjhar is divided into four pirs, namely, Jharkhand, Sotkhand, Rebena and Kathua, which are the maximal traditional territorial units. These pirs have a roughly north to south alignment

along a range of hills to the west and south of Keonjhargarh, the district headquarters. *Kathua*, *Sotkhand* and *Jharkhand* pirs from the northern spatial unit which is separated from Baisnab pith by the river Samakesi, in the centre of the Juang country lies Gonesika at the slope of Gupi-ganga pahar, which is the source of the River Baitarani.

The Juang of Jharkhand pith consider themselves superior to the Juang of the other pirs. They state two reasons to account for their superiority—the remote hilly tract they inhabit, and the populousness of their pith. Next to *Jharkhandi* (inhabitants of *Jharkhand* pith), the *Sotkhandi* place themselves in higher status. The *Sotkhand* pith comprises of seven villages, six Juang and one Bhuinya, but the fact that they are the original Juang of the land and they live near the source of the sacred Baitarani river enhances their superiority. The *Kathua* and *Rebena* are considered lower because the Juang of these pirs are mostly plains dwellers and they have long since lived in the close proximity to the caste—Hindus. Further more, *Rebena* and *Kathua* pirs are inhabited mostly by Juang labourers living in multi-clan villages.

Dhenkanal lies between $20^{\circ} 29'$ north and $21^{\circ} 41'$ north latitudes and between $84^{\circ} 16'$ east and $86^{\circ} 3'$ east longitude with an area of 4,226 square miles or 10,945-4 square kilometres. The Juang are found mainly in Pallabara, Kamakhyanagar and Sadar Sub-divisions of the district. They are



An old woman of Harare

spread over a wide area and live along with the neighbouring caste Hindu. Homogeneous Juang villages are rarely met with in Dhenkanal. Though their number in Pallahara can be counted on one's fingers. As a result of prolonged interaction with the Oriya people the Juang of Dhenkanal have lost most of their traditional customs, and have dropped off many traits which are typical of Juang culture. They are looked down by their neighbouring caste people, their customs are considered to be queer, and their dance and song nothing but open play of sex. In order to raise their social status the Juang of Dhenkanal are struggling hard to give up their traditional customs, their changes dance and song, and their dress and ornaments. They are rapidly taking up Oriya customs and manner and are developing an attitude of hatred for their parental way of life. They view the primitive Juang of Keonjhar and Pallahara as most backward. Unlike the Juang of Keonjhar, they do not have pith organization with Sardar to settle major issues. Their political organization called "Jafiano Sabha" (lit: the caste-assembly) is more or less a blueprint of the Caste Panchayat of the Teff (Olimen) and through this organization they try to reform their society. Steps are being taken by them to prohibit liquor drinking, beef-eating, Changes dance and widow remarriage, etc. They try to assimilate themselves with the Oriya way of life so much so that they are in a phase of forgetting their language. It is really astonishing that they have for-

gotten many Juang terms and have adopted Oriya words as substitutes to convey their ideas.

The Juang classified themselves into two sections, the *Thaniya* (lit: those who dwell in their original homeland) and the *Bhagadiga* (lit: those who have field). The *Thaniya* live in Juang Pithas of Keonjhar and all 'others' are *Bhagadiga*. Keonjhar and more specifically Gomalka is viewed to be the birth-place of the Juang. The Juang of Keonjhar claim themselves to be the autochthones of the place. It is from Keonjhar that the Juang have fled to Pallahara and Dhenkanal though true reason of such migration is not known. The Juang legends give multiple reasons for such migration. It is said that in good old days the king at Keonjhargarh used to collect infants for annual sacrifice to the Goddess Durga on the occasion of Dasara. The first born child of each family was considered to be proper for such sacrifice and the Juang fell a prey to such whim of the king. Babies were collected from Juang villages, and the Juang could not protest for the fear of the king. To keep themselves away from such criminality some of the Juang secretly fled to remote forest and woods of Pallahara and Dhenkanal and settled down there for good.

It is also presumed that a good number of Juang fled to Dhenkanal and Pallahara during the Bhoi-Saya rebellion in the year 1861. The rebellion initiated by the Bhoi-Saya under the leadership of Dharamidhar Bhoi-Saya, the adopted son of the then Maharani, was directed against the king. The Juang

also joined their hands with the Bhuiya and many had to sacrifice their life in the battle. This created a great havoc in the peace-loving Juang of the place and out of terror some deserted Keonjhar and travelled all the way to take shelter in Pallabara and Dhenkanal.

The factor of patrachism leading to the influx of Juang families to Dhenkanal and Pallabara is however, considered to be most important by the Juang of Keonjhar. The Juang of Keonjhar have a tribal assembly of their own to decide judicial matters. Their political organization enforces strict rules of punishment for the offenders of the society. The persons violating incest taboos are immediately driven out of the village and all their belongings are sold or thrown away. The offenders are also debarred from taking shelter in the neighbouring villages and they, thus travel long distances to settle down in far-off places. The Juang of Keonjhar hold the view that the migration of Juang families, on account of incest cases, has formed the bulk of Juang population in Pallabara and Dhenkanal. These Juangs, otherwise called Bhogediga are always remembered by the Juang of Keonjhar who offer special shares of offerings to "Na or Bhogad" (lit: nine hundred Bhogediga) in village rituals.

Creation of earth and Origin of the race.

The Juang have a number of legends to account for the creation of earth and the birth of the Juang. "the first produced

of the human race". Some of the legends give contradictory accounts, but the most common one as has been narrated by Elwin is as follows:—

"Dharam desha (Sun God) created the earth and made the first couple named Rasi and Rustini, who lived on Rustangar, a small hillock near Gonashika. The rest of the earth was floating and was so flexible that it was quite unfit for human habitation. Dharam wanted to make the earth solid and steady. In his meditation he came to know that the blood of the Rasi's son would make the earth solid. He went to Rasi and begged for the child. The Rasi agreed to part with his son, but his wife did not. Dharam created a tiger and sent it to catch the boy, but as the boy was roaming with his bow and arrows and was very strong and stout the tiger was afraid of approaching him. Dharam came to know it and he requested Rasi to contrive to make his son leave the bow and arrows behind while taking bath. Rasi did accordingly, and while his son was taking bath in a stream, keeping the bow and arrows aside, the tiger leapt on him and killed him. It carried the dead body around the earth and wherever the drops of blood fell on the ground it became steady."

Another story which is more or less similar to the above one depicts the glory of the past and the origin of the Juang. It tells how the Juang were born from Rsi (sage) and called themselves Rsi Putra (lit: son of Rsi).

The author with a locust wife



"In good old days, *Rusi* lived on hillock near Gonasika called *Rusitangor* (lit. hillock of *Rusi*). One day, an *Asur* (demon) girl came to Gonasika and fell in love with *Rusi*. *Rusi* married her and they begot seven sons and seven daughters, the ancestors of the present *Juang*. Except Gonasika the rest of the earth was floating. *Dharmo Devata* instructed *Rusi* to slay her *Kapila* cow and sprinkle the blood on the earth to make it steady. *Rusi* brought the cow to Gonasika, killed it and sprinkled the blood on the earth. The earth thus became steady and was made suitable for the habitation of *Rusi*'s sons and daughters. After killing the cow *Rusi* ate the beef stealthily and buried the head; but suddenly her sprang from the nostrils of the cow and gave birth to the sacred river *Balarami*. It was the era of Truth and Wisdom and whatever the *Juang* uttered happened without fail. If they cursed any body, the person suffered at once. There was no poverty, no vice, and the people did not tell lies. All were happy, honest and truthful. The little they produced or procured could feed them well, and the forest was rich with wild game, fruits, roots and tubers. But since the eating of beef the *Juang* lost the strength of their words and the power of their will. Anything they wished no more came true and however hard they worked the harvest was poor. Gradually poverty and misfortune attacked the *Juang*".

Though the *Juang* offer varied legends about their origin, they commonly hold the view that they were a brother race to the *Bhuiinya*.

Originally the *Juang* and *Bhuiinya* were brothers, the *Bhuiinya* being the elder and since the *Juang* ate beef their *Bhuiinya* brothers began to hate them and considered them partly untouchables. However, the *Juang* and *Bhuiinya* dwell in the same region and exhibit close similarity in their dress and ornaments, in songs and dance, in their social, religious, economic and political life than the neighbouring tribes. Both the *Juang* and the *Bhuiinya* have shifting cultivation as their main source of livelihood. Their dormitory life and youth organisation have many common traits. Like the *Juang*, the *Bhuiinya* boys and girls of two *Bandha* (non-sugenic) villages offer gifts to each other and their friendship is strengthened by exchange of frequent dancing expeditions between their villages. *Chango* is the most remarkable musical instrument of the *Juang* and the *Bhuiinya* and the *Juang* ballets like deer-dance, bullock-dance, peacock-dance, etc. as described by Dr. Elwin are borrowings from the *Bhuiinya*. The birth, marriage and death rites of the two tribes exhibit a lot of common features. Like the *Juang*, the *Bhuiinya* recognize a definite number of successive age-grades through which one has to pass and the members of each age-group have well defined rites and responsibilities. The *Bhuiinya* method of acquiring mates for marriage are just the same as adopted by the *Juang*, and in both the societies marriage by capture is the predominating type. The rites associated with birth, marriage, and death are quite identical in both the communities. Such similarities can be marked in

their religious life and political organisation, and all these common features confirm the belief that the Juang and the Bhuinya are brother-tribes. Their origin is quite at dark and it is difficult to state that both splitted off from a single branch, but the process of culture contact and borrowing of culture traits between the Juang and the Bhuinya can never be doubted.

The hill Juang also come in contact with the Pana (Untouchables) and the Gour (milk-men) with whom they live. In each Juang village, two or three Gour families are settled down by the Juang. They live on the land of the Juang, herd cattle and supply milk and milk-products to the Juang for village rituals. The Pana live sporadically over the Juang Piths of Keonjhar and their number is quite insignificant in this area, but they are numerous in the plains Juang villages of Keonjhar, Pallabara and Dhenkanal. As in other tribal areas, the Pana of the Juang area are very clever and often cheat the Juang in many ways.

The fertile and thickly populated plain area of Keonjhar lying at the foot hills to the north is mainly

inhabited by various caste people. Keonjhar, the headquarters of the district attracts people of various castes and communities. Karan, Khandayat, Chasa, Gour, Tel, Pano, etc., form the caste population while, Bhuinya, Gond and Baitinda constitute the strength of the tribal population. To the south of Sorkhanda Pith, lies a wide fertile plateau which extends up to Jharsua Pith in the south. This area with Janghira at its heart is often known as Hunda Pith. The area is mainly inhabited by caste people like the Chasa, Tel and Gour who are fairly rich persons. They are the Sabukars (lit: money-lenders) who advance loans of money, paddy, etc., to the tribals and to the poor caste people. In Dhenkanal and Pallabara, the Juang live amidst the vast population of innumerable castes, and they are so much influenced by the Oriya culture that they hardly exhibit any distinguishing features of their own culture. The impact of Hindu culture and the response of the Juang to such changes will be described in the last chapter.

FOREWORD

This is a handbook on the Hill Juangs of Keonjhar who are one of the most backward groups of the State. They have their own language and customs and practices which they retain even now despite considerable changes which have taken place in the tribal life of the country in general and the State in particular. Primarily being a group dependant on shifting cultivation the Hill Juangs of Keonjhar who claim to be autochthones of high-land of Keonjhar with Gomasika the source or river Baitarani as the most significant landmark, have been seldom studied in detail. Their physical aspects and material life were studied by a few scholars in the past. In pursuance of the decision to prepare monographic handbooks of the important tribes of the State this work was assigned to Shri Siba Prasad Rout, Research Officer (then a Junior Research Officer). Shri Rout had experience of field work among the tribe and that knowledge and experience have been properly conjoined for this monograph to show the multiple aspect of Juang life. This cannot be claimed as a comprehensive study but we hope that this could provide a suitable base line for anthropologists, administrators and scholars from different walks of life to appreciate and understand the life of the Hill Juangs. We hope that this small work will be judged in its proper perspective.

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CHAPTER III

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The Juang live both in small and big villages. The typical Juang villages are situated on hill tops or slopes or on valleys amidst hills and forests all around. The houses are half hidden under the overhanging branches of mango and jackfruit trees and any place with a number of these trees gives the identity of a Juang settlement or an abandoned village site. The Juang settlements in Pallahara are a few in number which are situated mainly on valleys, and in Dhenkanal these are built on plains just like the neighbouring Oriya villages. The so-called plains Juang villages of Keonjhar lie on the foot of the hills thus providing both plains paddy land and podu land for the villagers. All the settlements are preferably constructed near streams or rivers to ensure supply of drinking water for the inhabitants.

The Juang have no term of their own for 'village'. It is regarded as the minimal territorial unit and may consist of one or more wards situated close to each other, or dispersed over a little distance. In Keonjhar, the village Karsa for example, has four settlements

known by the same name of the main village. The village Sansilio in Dhenkanal has got a similar pattern. This village has five distinct wards situated close to each other, but have different names of their own. Thus we get Tala Sahi, Upper Sahi, Bankasahil, Nua Sahi and Bathra Sahi though all own their identity to one village, i. e., Sansilio. The distance between the wards of a village is usually a furlong or two, but at times these are separated from each other by high hills and dense forests and are situated at distance of one to two miles.

Village in Juang society, is the largest corporate group and it has a formally recognised territory of exploitation with well delineated land boundaries. It is as in Keonjhar a land-holding unit having uncultivated falls (podu) land and virgin forest lands, the area of such land varying from village to village. A Juang is permitted to cultivate, to hunt, and to cut down trees from that part of the forest which belongs to his village. The boundaries are demarcated from the time of the Raja, but land disputes between the villages are

not unknown. Thus the dispute about land between Tangarpada and Barura and between Bwitinia and Barura led to great hostility between the villages and the cases were brought to the notice of the S. D. O., Keonjhar, for decision. The picture is different in Pallahara where shifting cultivation is completely restricted, and in Dhenkanal where the land is thoroughly surveyed and the ownership of land (mostly irrigated paddy land) has been shifted from the village into the hands of individual members.

The traditional Juang settlements are uni-clan settlements. In Keonjhar, each Juang village was traditionally inhabited by the members of a single clan, and hence in many cases the villages were named after the clan name of the villagers. Thus the villages like Barura, Gungi, Tangarpada, Rodhus, Kansa, Dumuria, Saris, etc., are so named after the clan names of their inhabitants as Barua, Gungi, Tangarpada, Rodhus, Kansa, Dumuria, and Saris. Here, the land of a certain village is also referred to as the land of the people of such and such clan. In Dhenkanal and Pallahara, on the other hand, we notice a marked breakdown of the traditional village pattern from uni-clan to multi-clan ones. Due to frequent migration of boudhus (non-aquatic) and kotumb (aquatic) clan families most of the Juang villages are transformed into multi-clan settlements.

The size of the Juang settlements varies from small to big ones. There are big villages like Balli and

Khorba in Keonjhar and Samaila in Dhenkanal, and on the other extreme we find small villages like Sunela and Nalo in Keonjhar district and Gohirakhal and Kakarjhar in Dhenkanal district. The Juang villages of Pallahara are invariably small with 5 to 30 families. Settlements of average size with population of 100 to 150 and with 20-30 families are common pattern.

Changing Village Sites

The Juang change their village sites very often and according to their traditional belief living in a particular village for a longer period is not auspicious. In the olden days, the Juang were a semi-nomadic people who used to move from forest to forest and living primarily by collecting fruits, roots and tubers. The fact that the Juang do not have a term of their own for village, might suggest the fact that in olden days they were not living in a particular settlement for long and were changing their settlements so often that they did not invent a term for 'village'. Investigation in more than forty Juang villages in Keonjhar, and about ten villages in Pallahara and Dhenkanal shows that no Juang village, irrespective of its size, has not changed its site. Changing village site is widely prevalent in Keonjhar, but in Dhenkanal and Pallahara it is not a common occurrence, though not completely absent. Some villages change their sites more frequently than others. Some have definite sites to which the villages are shifted from time to time, but changing sites

cannot be doubted at all. The village Sarkadiha or Barkagarh of Keonjhar district has three definite sites, and every three or four years it is shifted to one of these sites. Gomasika, Barura, on the other hand have not changed their sites since the last ten years. Alanga changed its site in 1961, Phulbadli and Balli in 1962, and Tangarpada in 1963. In Dhenkanal, the villages are not able to change their sites due to a number of practical difficulties, but Alusjharan changed its site to the present location only in 1962.

The reasons for changing a village site are many i.e., shortage of *taifa* land near the village, frequent deaths in the village, continued disease or calamities like houses catching fire, failure of crops and cases of sorcery and witchcraft leading to quarrels and conflicts between the village members are the main causes which lead to the shifting of a village from one place to another. To these one more reason may be added, i.e., the general boredom of living in a particular village for longer period. There are instances to show that some change their sites just for a change. Gomasika changed its site after an accidental outbreak of fire, Phulbadli for constant crop failure in the old site, Barura as a result of sorcery and witchcraft and Tangarpada just because it had lived in one place for sufficiently a long period and has not changed its site since a pretty long time.

The decision to move the village to a new site is made by the village elders, who first discuss the

matter in the village council held in the dormitory house. Before selecting a site for habitation care is taken on the following points :—

- (1) The proposed site must not be too far from the agricultural fields of the villagers. In fact nearness to *taifa* field is one of the important factors for selecting a new site.
- (2) There must be streams or fountains close to the proposed site so that the villagers do not have to face shortage of water-supply.
- (3) Above all, the new site should be auspicious by divination and there should be little or no apprehension of future calamities caused by the evil spirits.

Tests Applied

A number of tests are applied by reading omens whether the village site would be auspicious, but of all the following are the most numerous—

- (a) The *Nopam* (ritual head of the village) clears a patch in the proposed village site and plasters it with cow dung and water. He worships the forest deities and the ancestors of the village by offering husked-rice and a chicken. The chicken is ceremonially offered to the deities when it is alive and is

left there for one night tied in a big hole dug for the purpose. Next morning, the villagers come to watch and if the chicken is found alive the site is presumed to be auspicious.

(b) The second method of reading the omens is by placing three piles of unboiled rice-grain each pile consisting of three grains of rice, two below and one above the two. One pile is placed for the health of the villagers in the new site and the second and the third ones stand for the health of the cattle and for future harvest. After propitiating the deities and the ancestors these rice grains are kept in position and are covered by a brass grain-measure (*poi*), by a basket, and by another big basket, respectively. The edge of the basket is thoroughly plastered with cowdung and water to prevent the ants and other insects entering inside and disturbing the rice grains. The rice grains, thus arranged are left for one night and next morning, these are carefully uncovered to watch if all the piles are kept in tact. If any pile is tilted or any grain of rice eaten away by the insects the site is considered inauspicious and abandoned without further consideration. On the other hand, the proper and

undisturbed position of the rice grains or an increase in the number of the rice grains indicates future prosperity.

(c) Prediction by a man in trance is another method of selecting village site, but this is very rarely taken recourse to. The man is possessed by the spirits and during his trance he might suggest if the proposed site would be proper for habitation.

After a site is selected preparations are made to shift the village to the new spot. Just after the harvest in January or February the proposed site is cleared and trees and bushes are cut down. On an auspicious day, the *Nagam* sticks the sacred pillar first for his house then for the *Padhan*'s house and then for the rest of the families. The houses for the *Nagam* and the *Padhan* are built first following which the other houses are built. The dormitory house, the *majong*, is built preferably in the centre of the village by the joint effort of the all unmarried boys and the girls. The frame of the houses is set up by the men and women take care of plastering.

After the houses are constructed, and before the villagers move to the new village, the *Nagam* installs the sacred stone of *Gramatri* in front of the *majong* and prays for prosperity in the new village. On an auspicious day the whole village moves to the new spot and offer cooked rice, liquor, and other delicacies to their ancestors for occupying the new house.

Juang Settlement

The typical Juang villages are compact settlements. The *majang* is situated preferably in the centre of the village, and the houses of the individual families are dispersed here and there encircling it. There is no regular road which passes between the houses, as the houses are not built in regular rows unlike that of the Kondhs. In front of the *majang*, there is spacious ground or plaza where the boys and girls dance with their *changsu* (circular musical drum).

In Pallishara the plan of Juang settlement is just like that of Keonjhar, but in Dhenkanal the Juang villages are made in imitation of the Oriya villages. Here, the village has a definite road and the houses are built on both sides parallel to each other.

Juang houses are small in size, the size of a house varying from 15' by 8' to 30' by 10'. Houses as small as just to accommodate a married couple and one or two children are very common in hill villages of Keonjhar, but the plains dwellers tend to build big houses of more permanent structures. The walls of the houses are made of wooden pillars stuck vertically close to each other, and these are plastered with cowdung and mud mixed together. The roof is thatched with wild grass on the hills, and of dried paddy stalks in plains villages. Each married couple has one house of its own, the group of children sleeping in the *majang*, and the cattle are kept in a separate shed built for them close to the sleeping room. Guests and relatives

take shelter in the *majang*, and after the sons are married new houses are built for them. Pigs and goats are kept in separate sheds made of wooden planks. Sometimes the goats are kept in the sleeping room, but pigs are always kept outside.

A Juang house is functionally divided into three distinct parts, each portion having a name of its own. One portion is called *dusfa* or the store section where a wooden platform is raised for keeping grains and cereals. The portion opposite to the *dusfa* is called *akusung* (literally, hearth in Juang dialect), where a hearth is made for cooking daily meals. In between *dusfa* and *akusung* is left a small portion called *kesang* where paddy is dried and husked. This portion serves two purposes, i. e., for drying and husking paddy and for affording sleeping accommodation to the members of the house. The basic plan of the house remains unchanged both in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, except the size and the structure. In Dhenkanal the houses are much bigger in size and often have the double roof system. The space between the wooden roof and the thatched roof is used for storing grains and spare household appliances. Windows, a new introduction in Juang houses of Dhenkanal are still quite unfamiliar to Juang of Keonjhar.

Contents of a Juang house

The contents of a Juang house are few. The Juang, who live from hand to mouth, have nothing much surplus to be stored for the future. Just after the harvest and before

the Juang start selling their agricultural produce for paying off the debts, one might find bundles of paddy and other grains on the store portion of the house. But this portion soon becomes empty after a month or two when the Juang start paying off their old debts. Loans are liquidated either by selling the agricultural produce like mustard and rau or by paying the produce in kind. Except a few rich Juangs, others do not get surplus of crops for future savings.

The household appliances of a Juang family, though of little market value, are of great use for the Juang. These consist of one or two mats, one or two wooden structures serving the purpose of pillow, a few earthen cooking pots, earthen jars and gourds for fetching water, a few brass or aluminium plates and pots, a few bamboo baskets, a pair of carrying poles with strings, about five axes of varying size, two or three sickles, a plough, a yoke, two or three hoes, one or two digging sticks for digging roots and tubers, a pestle for husking paddy, a slab of stone for grinding spices and a bow with a bunch of arrows for hunting purposes. Fishing is insignificant to the Juang. They have no fishing implements except a few traps and the fishing rods. Mats of date-palm leaves are woven by the women and girls in leisure hours. These are used as beds and the spare ones are sold in the market. Cots of wooden planks or of strings are still not so common among the Juang. Wooden head-rails are made by the men by cutting off the chills of wood from a log and by making a little hollow on its back

to accommodate the head. Earthen cooking pots and jars are purchased from the market, but the Juang themselves make their gourd vessels. Cups and plates for taking daily meals are made by women who pluck *Sol* and *star* leaves from the forest and prepare the leaf cups and plates. Baskets, iron parts for hoe, plough, digging stick, sickle and arrow are purchased from the market though the Juang of Pallabari make their own baskets. Wooden plough, the yoke, carrying pole and strings, bow and arrow, etc., made by the men. The hoe is more important than plough for the hill Juang who cultivate their fields by hoes and where ploughing becomes difficult on the hill the women and men turn the soil with hoes. Digging sticks (*baruk*) and axes (*badia*) are of great importance for the Juang, who consider these things to be their (emblem) *simlik* or *tau*. The axe is as indispensable to men as digging-stick are for the women. Living primarily on gleaning economy, a Juang cannot part with his axe which is used for felling trees in connection with shifting cultivation, for chopping firewood, and for cutting meat or vegetables. While going out a Juang would never forget to carry an axe on his shoulder just for safety. Likewise, digging wild roots and tubers, which form a main item of the diet of the hill Juang is not possible without a digging-stick. Bows and arrows are or not of much use except on communal hunting occasions, or for occasional shooting of birds and beasts. The husking lever, which is operated by the feet is not common in use except in the plains

Juang villages. This may be used for husking a lot of paddy which is of no use for the hill Juang who have poor economic standard. In hill villages paddy for the family use is daily husked by the women in a hand-operated pestle. It is believed that paddy husked at dawn before the sun-rise tends to multiply and can feed more stomachs.

Close kins tend to build their houses close to each other, and very often they have a common

cowshed to keep their cattle. Close to the houses and on the back side lie the maize and mustard fields of the family heads. These plots are individually own and are cultivated by the family members. A small portion of this plot may be fenced where tobacco (*bejerung*) and chili (*dankuri*) are grown for family consumption. Close to the village, but dispersed here and there are the mango and jackfruit trees which are own by individual families.

CHAPTER III

LIVING CONDITIONS

Sanitary habits

As described in earlier pages the Juang settlements are situated mostly on hills save some plains village. Streams and rivers are the main sources of getting water for the Juang. There are wells in a few plains Juang villages, but these wells are so insignificant in number that only a very minority of the Juang depend on wells. For the water of their daily use, the Juang have to depend primarily on streams and rivers. On the hills, the water of the streams is considerably pure, as most of the fountains and streams flow right from the hills and the Juang settlements are preferably built close to the source of the streams. By the time the river passes through a number of villages to reach the plains its water gets contaminated to a great extent. In villages the Juang pass their excreta close to the bed of the stream and after the rains the water is thus polluted. Bathing the cows and buffaloes in streams and rivers is very common in Juang area, which no doubt pollutes the water. To add to these, the funeral grounds of the Juang are

situated on the bank of the streams and the rivers. After a corpse is cremated the ashes and the offerings, etc., are washed by the water of the stream and are allowed to flow away in the current of the stream. This also pollutes the water and the villages through which the stream passes fetch such water for their daily use. The Juang, however, are quite habituated to drink such contaminated water and their resistance to stomach disease seems to be greater than the outsiders.

There are no definite pits for throwing away the rubbish and refuse. After sweeping the houses and the orchards the refuse are thrown away carelessly at the back of the house close to the mustard plots. These places are often breeding grounds for innumerable flies and other insects. Cowdung is thrown daily in the mustard plots lying close to the dwellings.

As regards other sanitary habits the Juang men are cleaner than the women. They take their bath regularly, often twice a day once in the morning before going to work on fields and once in the afternoon on



Carrying grain is a task for women

their way back home from toilsome labour. The women not having sufficient clothings cannot wash their clothes daily. The men take naked bath in streams. Clothes are washed with soaps purchased from market or by boiling them with ashes. The plains Juang are not doubt more particular in washing their clothes than the hill Juang who never mind it much.

In dressing their head the Juang are not so particular like the Bhuiya. They comb their hair by bamboo combs made by themselves in Keonjhar, and by wooden combs purchased from market in Dhenkanal. On the hills the men have long hair and some unmarried boys allow their hair to grow to a certain length; but on the plains this fashion is out of date and is looked down upon by others. The men comb their head daily after bath, but the women comb their hair once or twice a month. The girls do it more frequently on the day of going to the market, to the fair, or while going to their bandhu villages on dancing expeditions. The girls make a long and cylindrical bun tying a bunch of red and yellow ribbons, and decorate their bun with a brass hair-pin. They use *kesari* oil (*hingrur ajan*), rad oil (*ramtila ajan*), or mustard oil. Coconuts oil is too dear for them to use.

The Juang above the age of eight to ten years brush their teeth every morning with *sol* tooth twigs which are collected from the jungle by the women and the girls. The women brush their teeth while taking bath in the stream. The children are not particular about the time and

the place for defecation. The adults on the other hand, prefer to pass excreta, near the streams in the forest.

The Juang houses are kept clean by the women. The floor of the house is plastered daily with cow-dung and red-earth, but the walls are plastered once in a week or two. The courtyard and the plaza are swept very rarely. The majung is plastered by the unmarried girls (*faelunki*) once or twice in a week on ordinary days, and positively on every ritual or festive occasion.

The housewife washes the plates every day. Food is eaten in leaf cups made by the women and these are thrown away after use.

Food

Rice is esteemed to be the ideal food by the Juang. Even meat, without rice, is not considered a hearty meal. The plains Juang cultivate lowland paddy and thus produce more paddy for family consumption. On the other hand, paddy cultivation on the hills is exposed to untimely rains and to the ravages of wild animals and a Juang has least chance of getting a bumper paddy harvest from his rocky tolo field. Hence, unlike the plains dwellers they produce varieties of crops like beans, millets and pulses which are eaten in lieu of rice. Their diet is also greatly supplemented by fruits, roots and tubers collected from the jungle. On the hills the paddy harvested by an average Juang can hardly feed him and his family for four to five months. The cash-crops such as *rad* and mustard he produces are

exchanged for paddy and rice which can be eaten for another two or three months. For the remaining three to four months the Juang have to depend on food collection from the jungle. Just after the harvest rice is eaten continuously for a month or two, but soon after this much time is spent in collecting wild tubers and roots which are plenty in this season. In summer, jack fruits and mango begin to ripe and these are eaten in plenty for a month or two as a substitute for rice. Wild fruits like kenda and cher are so abundant in summer that the children spend most of their time in the jungle eating such fruits. Rainy months are the most busiest part of the year for agricultural operation and in these months the Juang like to eat well. Much rice is stored for rainy seasons. Mandia cakes, mushrooms of multiple variety and a few varieties of wild roots and greens are also very delicious food for the Juang in rainy months. There are as many as forty varieties of roots and tubers, about fifteen kinds of greens and about five kinds of mushrooms eaten by the Juang.

The Juang get meat by occasional hunting. Ceremonial hunting is inaugurated on *Amh Nua* (new mango-eating) ceremony. The Juang eat the meat of all animals and birds except bear, snake, tiger, and vulture. The meat of the deer (*antig*), sambar (*seeras*), wild goat (*kestra*), hare (*along*), bison (*sgnay*) etc., are great delicacies. Hunting is never always a guaranteed success. For getting meat readily to entertain the guests or to prepare festive meals

the Juang rear pigs (*butor*), *ghaj* (*meram*) and chickens (*senkor*). These are also sacrificed in rituals and their meat eaten. The *lith* Juang still continue to eat beef and buffalo meat, but in *Dhenkanal* beef and buffalo meat are strictly prohibited.

Methods of food preparation and daily-diet system.

The diet-pattern of the Juang is never systematic and standardized. The type of meal and the amount of food they eat vary from time to time according to the availability of food materials in different seasons. In a feast a Juang can eat rice of as much as one *zona* or more, but in his house this amount is cooked for four to five persons. An ordinary meal consists of a leaf cup of cooked rice and some salt. Sometimes, wild greens collected by the women are boiled with a little turmeric and mustard to serve as curry. Occasionally, *dof* may also be cooked of the pulses which the Juang grow on their field. Vegetables like pumpkin (*boldola*), gourd (*auku*), beans (*alma*) and *ara*, etc., cultivated by Juang, are cooked as curry. The Juang have two terms for eating and drinking, but for eating rice they use the word 'drinking'. This is because, in the long past, when the Juang produced little rice and were spending most of their time in the jungle; they used to boil rice into gruel and used to drink such gruel as their main item of food. Rice is never washed before it is cooked, and the gruel is not thrown away. After eating rice the Juang drink the gruel (*dak toans*).



Grocery bag

Greens and vegetables are always boiled with a little salt, a little turmeric paste and with mustard, the last two things being produced by themselves. Oil is stored to cook meat. The Juang extract oil from cast (rajtila), cultivated by them and from kusum (bangar) seeds collected from the jungle. Meat is usually cooked by boiling and adding the grain of the rice as its juice, but it may also be eaten by roasting on embers. Extra meat can be stored by smoking it or by drying it in the sun. Almost all the parts of an animal are eaten, except the horns, the hoofs, and the hairs. The skin, guts, stomach, brain, tongue, and hearts of the animal are considered extremely tasteful.

Fish is roasted and eaten and may be stored for future use by smoking it on the fire or by drying it in the sun. Maize (jawai) both green and ripe, are eaten after roasting on embers, but can also be husked and boiled after it is dried. Cakes are prepared by grinding maize into powder, and liquor may also be prepared by boiling maize grains. Green jack fruit is eaten roasted or boiled but the ripe ones are liked by all. Mango is eaten both raw and ripe, but the kernel is stored for preparing cakes in rainy months. Fruits are always eaten raw. The roots and tubers are either boiled or are roasted on fire. Some kinds of wild potato taste bitter and therefore elaborate steps are taken to make them edible and tasteful.

Cakes (olak) do not constitute a regular item of the Juang diet. These are prepared on festive and ceremonial occasions for eating and for distributing among the relatives.

The girls prepare cakes to present as gifts to their baulha boy-friends. Rice cakes are very common, but cakes made of mandu, maize, mango kernel, gessei, and a few other crops are more tasteful than rice cakes. Cakes are prepared either by steaming them in earthen pots, or by roasting them on fire after wrapping the paste in *su* or *stari* leaves.

The adults take two meals a day, one at noon and one at night; but the children eat thrice or four times a day. They are given more to eat as they cannot stand starvation. Besides eating their shares, the children may also eat with their parents when the parents take their meals.

The Juang are extremely addicted to liquor, but the hill Juang are more habituated in drinking than the plains Juang. In Dhenkanal, the tribal council of the Juang prohibits drinking liquor on ordinary occasions. Liquor is drunk only during marriage and festive occasions and during religious rites. In Keonjhar liquor is taken more as an intoxicant than as food. Liquor is drunk during rituals and marriage after it is offered to the ancestors. It has five uses for the Juang:—

(1) Liquor is drunk as an intoxicant just for pleasure to forget the trials and tribulations of life and to get temporary relief.

(2) It is used as medicine. The *mohua* liquor is believed to drive out cold and headache.

(3) In Pallabara *khajuri* (date-palm) liquor is taken three to four times daily more to satisfy hunger than to get intoxication.

(4) Liquor is indispensable for rituals. In rituals and on festive occasions liquor is offered to the ancestors and the deities to keep them in good temper and thereby get their blessings for plenty and prosperity.

(5) Liquor has high social value. The guests and relatives are entertained with liquor. It is pleasant to drink liquor in a group. Liquor is also used to mitigate quarrels and conflicts. When the brothers establish separate families of their own the villagers perform liquor ritual for blessing.

Liquor is purchased from the liquor shops established by the local Sundhi, but in some villages in Keonjhar the Juang prepare their own liquor. The Juang drink as many as six varieties of liquor such as :—

- (i) Mohua liquor called arkhi.
- (ii) Rice-beer known as handia or pachhi.
- (iii) Liquor made from maize or jauji mada.
- (iv) Liquor made from cereals like akogang, kaula, and jaujori, etc.
- (v) Toddy or khijiri mada extracted from date-palm trees.
- (vi) Salap mada, extracted from sago-palm trees.

Of all varieties, liquor prepared out of cereals has the best taste, while mohua liquor is considered to be the most sacred and most intoxicating. Only mohua liquor can be used for ritual purposes. In plains villages of Keonjhar, the Juang are more addicted to rice-beer which is prepared by the Kolhas, but on hills they depend mostly on mohua liquor. The Juang of Dhenkanal use mohua liquor in rituals and on other ceremonial and festive occasions. In Pallahara, toddy is so common that it constitutes an item in the daily diet of the Juang. Juang settlements in Pallahara are built under date-palms, and each family has date-palms and palmyra palms of its own. Toddy is extracted from these palms daily and both children and adults drink it three or four times a day.

Tobacco is extremely popular among the Juang which is smoked or chewed with lime. In Keonjhar and Pallahara, the Juang grow tobacco in their mustard plot and store it for the year. They smoke tobacco by rolling it with sof leaves. When relatives pay their visits a Juang greets them and presents tobacco and sof leaves as a token of respect. In Dhenkanal, on the other hand, such kind of smoking is looked down upon. The Juang here, either smoke bidi purchased from the local shops and markets, or chew tobacco leaves with lime. Both men and women chew tobacco, and they have to depend on the market for this as they do not cultivate tobacco.



The sum up, it can be said that the Juang struggle hard to get their food by cultivating fields and by gleaning methods. Collection of wild greens, fruits, roots and tubers, hunting and occasional fishing are the various methods of gleaning which supplement their diet.

Health and Hygiene

The Juang are fairly strong and stout and they bear a sound physique. They vary from tall to short in stature, but most of them are of medium size. The hill Juang are comparatively more stronger and more free from diseases than the Juang of the plains. The strong body built of the hill Juang may be accounted for their low starch and high protein diet. The hill Juang eat less rice than the Juang of the plains, and the major part of their diet consists of fruits which are eaten raw, the roots, tubers and the greens which are roasted or and meat of the birds and beasts. These provide more protein to them than rice. Whatever rice a Juang eats contains more vitamin than the rice we eat. The rice, husked by their women, contains much of its brown coating. Rice is never washed before it is cooked, and the gruel is never thrown away after it is boiled. The gruel is highly nutritious and the Juang drink it after every meal.

Various parts of an animal, which are thrown away by us are of great nutritive value to the Juang. The liver, brain and intestines of a goat, for example are eaten by all Juangs.

The Juang, especially those who dwell on hills, get fresh air and cool breeze. They labour hard from dawn to dusk on their field exposing their body to the heat of the scorching sun and to the ravages of rains; but they never like to sit idle. This keeps them hale and hearty and increases immunity to fight out diseases.

Diseases and their Treatment

In spite of the healthy climatic and other favourable conditions the Juang are not free from diseases. Most of the Juang villages are covered by overhanging branches of the mango and jackfruit trees and sunshine hardly touches the ground. In rainy season, such places become slumpy and malarial breeding flies and mosquitoes. The Juang have developed a strong resistance for such climate, but at time they fall prey to malaria. Some are chronic sufferers of stomach troubles (*itip kau*). Headache (*lakup kau*) is occasional, but certain skin diseases like yaws and itches are all-pervading in Juang areas.

The Juang give multiple reasons to account for their ailments. A few may attribute the factors of untimely bath and irregularity in taking food for bodily complaints, but most of them believe in the power of unseen forces in creating troubles. According to them some diseases are caused due to the "evil-eyes", some due to the play of black magic by witches or sorcerers, and some other are caused if the family ancestors and the spirit dwelling on the hills and

"Forests" are displeased. Persons violating social taboos are believed to suffer from acute diseases. Head-ache is caused by insignificant spirits, and itches are due to personal uncleanness. Stomach trouble, whether temporary or chronic is believed to be brought to the body of the sufferer by his family ancestors or by malevolent spirits. If displeased, the ancestors, and the spirits may also make one to suffer from fever. Sorcerers and witches, may inflict serious illness, and thereby causing death to the victim. They are also capable of playing their black magic on the offsprings of their enemy who die in young age.

For curing diseases the Juang hardly take the help of the physicians or believe in the efficacy of modern medicine. Illness is believed to be caused by mostly malevolent spirits and unless these spirits are properly propitiated with sacrifices and offerings one may not hope for a quick recovery. There are very few dispensaries in Juang areas as one in Gorasika to attract the Juang for the use of modern medicine. The Juang, in general, have little patience to use medicines regularly and wait for recovery. They hope to be recovered immediately after taking one or two doses of medicine. When the medicine does not cure them in a day or two the doubt about the efficacy of modern medicine goes stronger in their mind. Another reason for their apathy towards modern medicine is due to the fact that it prescribes definite diet and puts other restrictions in

the normal way of living which the Juang does not like to abide by. All these considerations prevent the Juang from going to dispensaries and force them seek the traditional methods for curing diseases.

The traditional methods of curing diseases consist of such rites like detecting the cause of the disease by divination, offering chicken and liquor to the offenders, and to blow-off the disease or the forces creating bodily complaints. Use of herbs and other oral medicines is not known to the Juang, and there is no traditional medicine-man in the Juang society. The witch diviner-cum-medicine-man called Raulia is popular in Bhunyan society. A few Juangs have learnt this art from the Bhunyan.

The most common and the widespread method of curing stomach troubles is by branding the belly. A piece of iron rod is heated in the burning flame and is branded twice or thrice around the belly which leaves indelible marks on the skin. It is believed that this cures all the stomach troubles.

Fever is caused due to the attack of some malevolent spirits or due to the displeasure of the ancestors; hence for curing fever it is necessary to propitiate the offenders properly and satisfy them by offering chicken, liquor, tobacco, etc. Before curing the disease it is first necessary to detect the offender. The Raulia measures three reeds of twelve fingers



Husking in hand-operated pestle

length. He utters the names of all the spirits one by one and measures the reeds. When the name of the spirit responsible for creating fever is uttered the length of the reeds increases and the *Rou-dia* detects the real evil-maker. Such test may also be applied to detect if any one in the village played mischief to bring illness to somebody. In this case the offender, if he is found to be one of the villagers is fined a few rupees and in serious cases of witchcraft and sorcery, the offender is expelled from the village. On the other hand, if the evil maker is found to be a spirit, arrangement

is made to propitiate it. The sufferer contributes one or two chickens, a maza of rice, tobacco and other necessaries to the *Rou-dia* and the *Rou-dia* offers such things to the spirit by sacrificing the chicken. This cures the fever of the sufferer.

Some Jaung suffer due to the repeated death of their children. Some witches or some evil-minded ancestors might be doing this to take revenge on the family for past quarrels or conflicts. To prevent such premature death the child is ceremonially handed over to the villagers.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Daily Life of the Juang

Before going deep into the details of Juang food-gathering pursuits and other agricultural activities, it is necessary, at the outset, to give a picture of Juang daily life around their hearth and home and around their fields and forest.

The first crow of the cocks rouses the Juang from slumber and marks the beginning of their daily activities. The men come to the *mojung* to get themselves warm by the *mojung* fire. They smoke their country-made cheroot leisurely sitting around the fire and discuss topics of daily occurrence or matters concerning village life. The womenfolk clean the house and the sheds and go to the stream for fetching water. Coming back from the stream they sit down to husk paddy by their hand operated husking pestle. It is commonly believed by the Juang that paddy husked before the sun-rise amounts to more quantity and can feed more members. The children gather around and start playing together or enjoy the warmth by lighting a small fire near the plaza or near their courtyard.

As soon as the rays of the rising sun peep out from the distant horizon and fall on huts and houses the men may leave to plough their fields situated not far away from the village. If they intend to go to work on their distant *bgia* fields they wait till the food is prepared for them. After the men leave to plough nearby fields or to fetch firewood from the nearest jungle, the women keep themselves busy in cooking food, preparing leaf cups and plates, washing utensils and doing other tasks.

As the men return from their morning work the women give them, a tooth-twig and a gourdful of water to wash their teeth. The ladies go to the stream and come back with pitchers-ful of water after their bath. Men folk also go for a bath and return back after a while. The children are fed first and the adults are given cooked rice or boiled roots and tubers as their meal. As soon as they finish eating, they light their *beria* (cheroots) and collect the agricultural implements to carry with them to their *folia* field. In the meanwhile, the women eat their meals, bundle up the extra food



Working lever is a new introduction in fair villages

*and get ready to accompany their husband for the day's toil. They work on their fields for the whole day, the men ploughing or sowing seeds, and the women transplanting, turning of little clads of earth in rocky portions of the land with a hoe, weeding out grass, grubbing extra and unnecessary growths of trees and bushes, reaping crops, or helping their husband in other agricultural work.

In slack seasons, when no labour is needed for agricultural work groups, of men and women, with digging sticks and baskets go to the forest to search for roots, fruits and tubers. Besides digging out roots and tubers the men try to search for honey and wild eggs or shoot some birds or beasts. The women pluck *sal* and *star* leaves and collect tooth-twigs for family use. On their way back home they bring loads of firewood from the jungle to cook the meals at night.

As soon as the sun begin to set in the western horizon and before the darkness envelopes the earth all including the men and women, and the boys and girls return home. Those who return from toil field make a little time to bring a bunch of firewood or pluck some leaves. The women hurry up to the streams and bring water for cook-

ing. The men while away their time in the *majang* discussing the events of their daily life till the meals are ready. As soon as cooking is done the housewife distributes the meal into definite shares keeping each share, in leaf cups made by her. A call from inside breaks up the group and hungry Juangs go to partake of their meals. The unmarried boys eat their food and taking their mats with them go back to the *majang* to sleep. Others soon finish taking their food and lay their bodies on the plain leaf mats to forget the toils and terrors of the day under the spell of the night's slumber.

The unmarried boys and girls may like to enjoy the sweetness of life by engaging themselves in *change* dance. At times they sing and dance breaking the silence of the night till the wake of the day, but the general practice is to continue the dance till the dead of the night and then retire for sleep.

Division of Labour between the Sexes

In Juang Society the men and women work together in their struggle for existence. The women always co-operate with the men in eking out their life, but certain types of work are tabooed

for women in the formal structure of the society. Likewise, men are also not expected to do a set of activities which are considered to be the work of the weaker sex. Hence, it is quite necessary to de-

scribe the division of labour between the sexes in Juang society. Instead of giving a long description, the work of the men and women can be summarised in the following table.

TABLE 2
Division of Labour between the Sexes

Sl. No.	Nature and types of work	Sex doing the work	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
I Agricultural Work			
	Ploughing	Men	Tabooed for women
	Hilling	Men and Women	Preferably by women
	Sowing	Men	Tabooed for women
	Weeding	Men and Women	More by women
	Degro sing	Women	
	Debushing	Men and Women	
	Reaping the crops	Men and Women	
	Carrying crops home	Men and Women	Men carry on shoulder and Women carry on head.
	Pulling down trees from tolls	Men	Women occasionally help
	Harvesting	Men and Women	Men by bullocks and women by feet.
	Storing the grains in straw bundles	Men	Never by women
	Mannuring fields	Men and Women	Considered to be the work of women in Keenjhar but that of men in Dhenkheral.
2 Food Quest			
	Collecting roots and tubers	Men and Women	Preferably by women
	Catching birds	Men	Women cannot catch as they cannot climb up trees.
	Bringing honey	Men	None

Sl. No.	Nature and types of work	Sex doing the work	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Fishing	Men and Women	Men by fishing-rods, wo- men by hand.
	Hunting	Men	Tabooed for women
	Climbing trees	Men	Ditto
	Plucking leaves from the jungle.	Women	Not done by men
3	Household Tasks		
	House thatching	Men	Tabooed for women
	Plastering house	Women	Never done by men
	Sweeping	Women	Men may do in difficulties
	Fetching water	Women	Ditto
	Marketing	Men and Women	
	Washing the cowshed	Women	Men may do so in diffi- culties.
	Preparing leaf-cups and plates.	Women	Ditto
	Washing utensils	Women	Ditto
4	Food Preparation		
	Chopping firewood	Men and Women	
	Husking paddy	Women	Never done by men
	Winnowing	Women	Not done by men
	Cooking	Men and Women	Cooking in the family is done by women but men cook on feasting occa- sions.
	Serving food	Men and Women	Women in the family and men in feasts.
	Rituals and Rites		
	Worshiping deities	Men	Occasionally by women who often succeed as priests after the death of their husband.
	Slaughtering and sacri- ficing goats and chickens.	Men	Never by women
	Liquor ritual	Men and Women	Women participate only on selected occasions.

Sl. No.	Nature and types of work	Sex doing the work	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
6 Entertainment			
	Dance	Men and Women	Men dance with changu. Women dance as per the tune of the songs and changu rhythms of men.
	Singing	Men and Women	Only men sing in changu dances. Only females sing in marriage procession. Both boys and girls sing dhol songs.

Two things can be deduced from the above table which throw glimpse on the position of women in the society. Firstly, it is noticed that men are entitled to do more outdoor work while most of the works concerning the hearth and home are meant for the women. The men being stronger can do work like ploughing fields, which requires greater physical strain, while the domestic work of the women are comparatively light and leisurely. The women due to their practical difficulties in carrying babies and undergoing periodical ritual uncleanness cannot participate in all outdoor work. Secondly, certain work of the men like ploughing fields, hunting, house building, thatching roof and sowing are strictly tabooed for women, but the fact that those which are considered to be work of the women can also be performed by men under unavoidable circumstances shows that the freedom of the women is much more limited than the men in sphere of work and way of life.

Economic Life

The economy of the Juang is in transition and it shows a wide-spread variation in Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Pallahara. The Juang of Pallahara have been compelled to leave up shifting cultivation under the restrictions imposed upon them by the Forest Department. They cultivate some guda and irrigated paddy land but the yield can hardly feed them for the whole year. Hence, they have taken recourse to basketry as the main source of their livelihood.

The Juang living around Dhenkanal proper and Kamatkhyanagar are plain dwellers cultivating low land paddy fields like the neighbouring Oriyas. They have left cultivating toila land long since and are not familiar with basketry. Their average economic standard is by no means of a high standard as the land they possess is pretty meagre and they are easily exploited by the clever Oriyas who instigate them

go sell away their land for little money. In fact, Juangs of these areas earn their bread as labourers or daily wage earners.

In Keonjhar, the Juang are said to lead a life least affected by the alien cultures. They still depend primarily on shifting cultivation, tilling their land by the traditional age-old methods. Neither do they have enough permanent paddy plots, nor do they know basketry to supplement their economy. Considering the varying economy of the Juang, as described earlier, it is necessary to give a generalized picture of their economy and describe the main sources of their livelihood.

Sources of Livelihood

In old days, when the Juang had full freedom of the forest, they earned their livelihood partly from cultivating forest land, and partly from hunting, fishing and food collection. After the break up of their traditional economy they have adopted an economy which is more elaborate than it was in old days. The important sources of Juang livelihood are:—(1) Agriculture, (2) Cleaning, (3) Hunting, (4) Fishing, (5) Basketry, (6) Animal Husbandry, (7) Trade and barter, and (8) Wage earning.

Agriculture

Shifting cultivation is the main system of Juang agriculture. Originally the Juang were primarily

food gatherers collecting fruits, roots, and tubers from jungle to keep their body and soul together. The little agriculture they were practising was very crude and primitive in nature, which consisted of scratching the virgin soil with thorny branches and broadcasting some seeds. Gradually they began to till the soil with digging stick and hoe with iron blades. In course of time with the increased population pressure and the immigration of non-Juang families to Juang villages the Juang learnt the method of plough cultivation and adopted it on their *pedu* land. The Juang economy beginning from food gathering through shifting cultivation by hoes to plough cultivation and settled agriculture has considerably affected their socio-cultural life too. Here it would be proper to describe the methods of shifting cultivation which is widely practised by the Juang of Keonjhar.

The shifting cultivation of the Juang is called *tolsa chaur*, named after the *pedu* land which is called *tol*, *chaur*, *nola*, and *goda* depending on the year of its cultivation. Before describing the *tol* land and the methods of shifting cultivation it is essential to state the types of land owned and cultivated by the Juang and the associated ownership pattern.

TABLE No. 3
Type of land and the Associated Ownership Pattern

No.	Type of land	Ownership	Remarks
1	<i>Tola</i> , or jungle land cleared for the first year cultivation.	Individually owned as long as the person cultivates it.	As soon as the land is left for fallowing it reverts back to the village ownership.
2	<i>Khas</i> , or the paddy land cleared for the first year cultivation.	Ditto	Ditto
3	<i>Nala</i> , the paddy land cultivated in the third or fourth year.	Ditto	Ditto
4	<i>Guda</i> , or the open patches of fallowed land cultivated for extra harvest. In such land there are hardly any big trees or thick bushes to be cut down or cleared for cultivation.	Ditto	Ditto
5	<i>Babu</i> or kitchen-gardens where maize and mustard are sown.	Individually owned	—
6	<i>Bha</i> or <i>Jau</i> , the irrigated paddy plots constructed preferably near streams or rivets.	Ditto	—
7	Virgin forest	Owned by the village	

The above table which states the land ownership system prevailing among the Juang of Keonjhar has its limitations among the Juang of Dhenkanal. The Juang of Dhenkanal have left their *tola* cultivation and have taken up settled agriculture. The types of land they possess are *bha* or irrigated paddy plots and *babu* or kitchen garden. The patches of land where they grow vegetables and certain varieties of oil-seeds are called *tola*. A family having such a plot divides it into certain patches and cultivates one patch every year on rotation basis. After

a patch is cultivated for two or three years it is left for fallowing for two to three years. Such plots however, cannot be termed as *tola* fields in the strict sense of the term, as there are no big trees on such plots and felling trees, an important phase of shifting cultivation is not carried on such plots. Moreover, unlike the *tola* plots of the Juang of Keonjhar, the *tola* land in Dhenkanal are owned by individual families for good; and village ownership on such land is completely absent. *Guda* plots are also owned individually and often *guda* and *tola* lands are

Equivalent terms for the Juang of Dhenkanal. The forest is the property of the Government and the Juang of this place have lost their traditional rights over the forest.

Phases of shifting cultivation

As stated earlier, the land for shifting cultivation is owned by the village and after it is distributed to individual family heads for cultivation, the ownership is transferred from the village to the individuals for a period of two, three or four years. Every year, new *tofo* plots which have completed eight to ten years rotation cycle and are considered proper for cultivation are allocated to individual families by the *Nagam* (priest) and *Ardhan* (secular-head) on the *Bhain Bandha* day of *Paa Punel* ritual. On *Paa Punel*, the villagers assemble in front of the Majang and the *Nagam* sprinkles water over the villagers wishing health and happiness for the new year. All shout as "haribol" and listen to the echo

The forest lying in the direction from where the echo is heard is considered auspicious for the current year's *tofo* clearings. Next day, the villagers headed by the *Nagam* and *Ardhan* proceed on the stipulated direction and select a site for *tofo* cultivation. The *Nagam* is given a plot first and then the *Ardhan* is allotted his share. After this, the *Prajus* (meaning the villagers) are given patches of *tofo* land. Each family is given as much *tofo* lands as it can cultivate and the *Nagam* puts a mark on a tree with his axe to demarcate the boundary lines.

Certain plots are also allotted to the unmarried boys (*komperai*) and girls (*sefunki*) and to the village as a whole to be cultivated on communal basis. The *Ausperki* and *sefunki* cultivate *tofo* to purchase gifts for their *bandha* friends of other villages and to feed them on their visits to their villages on dancing expedition. The yield from the village communal plot cultivated by the villagers is used to feed the guests and relatives, to pay the annual land revenue and to meet other contingent expenses.

After the *tofo* plots are allotted to family heads steps are undertaken to fell trees from such plots. The *Nagam* first cuts down a tree ceremonially from his *tofo*, following which others begin to cut down trees and bushes from their respective plots leaving a few here and there to serve the purpose of supporters for beans and other creepers. This phase of cutting down trees from *tofo* plots is called *tofo drilok* (lit., cutting field).

The next phase consists of burning the trees and bushes which is called *punja pedu*. The small branches and tree trunks are allowed to dry up in the heat of the blazing sun and as soon as they are properly dried the entire cuttings are set on fire. If any thing is left unburnt, these are piled together around the standing un-felled trees and fire is set to them. The *Nagam* first sets a patch of his *tofo* on fire ceremonially following whom others start the work on their own plots. Both men and women work together in burning *tofo* which takes about a week or two depending on the size of the

plot. Ashes are not spread over the field for the cuttings were already distributed evenly over the plot. Besides, ploughing and rains help in spreading the ashes all over the field. The bushes, trees and branches thus cut down and turned into ashes not only help in clearing the patch to let the sun light fall on the crops, but also serve as manure for the field.

The *taifa* field is now ready for ploughing. The even and flat portions are ploughed with plough by men, but the women use a hoe to dig up soil in the rocky places where plough cannot be used. Some Juangs, who have no cattle to plough their *taifa* depend solely on hoe cultivation.

The Juang do not allot separate plots for different crops; they sow a variety of grains in one plot. On *taifa* they sow *rai* (a kind of oil-seed) in the first phase and dibble seeds of beans on the heaps of ashes around the standing dried trees. Sowing *rai* is inaugurated by the *Nogam* who performs a minor ritual in his field and broadcasts *rai* seeds all over the *taifa*.

After the first shower of rains the seeds sprout and the entire field is covered with green seedlings. The rains also help the growth of grass and other wild bushes which obstruct the growth of the crops. Steps are, therefore, undertaken to weed the unnecessary plants and cut down the overgrowth bushes. Men, women and children take part in debushing. This completes the work on *taifa* till the crop is harvested and brought home, as watching over the field before the harvest is not necessary for *rai* crop.

The agricultural operations on *ekam*, *nalo*, *goda* and *baknali* lands may be described briefly. When the harvest on *taifa* is over and the field is cultivated for the second time in the next year it is called *ekam*. Paddy is the chief crop sown on *ekam* and a variety of crops and vegetables including *kulart*, *akpongjinjori*, *kussuk*, *pumpkin*, *gourd*, *aruu*, *khengra*, *manu*, and *khudu* are sown all over the field. Gourd and cucumber seeds are planted around the dried trees and the creepers rest on the dried branches. *Khudu*, *jinjori*, *akpong* and *kussuk*, etc. are sown around the borders as hedges. Before *ekam* is cultivated, women and girls root out the grass and bushes before ploughing. After the sowing of paddy, the bushes and wild grass grow up again and prevent free growth of the useful plants. Hence these are again rooted out. Women and girls take major role in such work but they are also helped by men.

As the paddy on *ekam* begins to ripen, the Juang take much pain to watch over the crop. As the fields are mostly situated far away from the village and are often open to the ravages of wild birds and beasts, the Juang build small watching cabins in the centre of their *ekam* and sleep there at night driving away the wild animals by shouting loudly, by throwing stones or pebbles at them, or by making a fire under their *machan*. Elephants are driven out by lighted torches of soft firewood. To guard the crops from wild animals and evil spirits and with a view to get bumper harvest, Juangs worship various deities at the



Reaping crops from hill clearing

"*Virka Puja* ritual, but while reposing full faith in their gods the Juang do not stop their own efforts to watch over the field and to protect the crop by setting traps. In some villages, the entire ekan of the village is fenced all round by wooden palisades leaving some passages to allow the entrance of the wild animals into the field. Near such passages the Juang set lever or dead-fall traps to catch and kill the intruders.

Reaping and harvesting are done by the members of both the sexes, though women play an important role in reaping the crop with

sickle. The bundles of yield are carried to the threshing floor both by men and women and before the crop is brought home the Juang perform *Gandadis* ritual on their respective fields offering shares to the local deities and to their ancestors.

Cultivation on *nala*, *gada* and *bokadi* involves the processes which are almost identical with those applied on *tauli* and *ekan*, but the crops harvested from each type of field are different. The following table states the types of crops harvested from each type of land.

TABLE No. 4
Types of Land and the Crops Harvested

No.	Types of land	Crops Harvested	Remarks
1	<i>Tauli</i>	<i>Rasi</i> or <i>alsi</i> (<i>niger</i>), <i>biri</i> , or <i>ketuha</i> , and <i>avane</i> as main crops and beans sparsely.	Rarely paddy or <i>asfir</i> may be sown on <i>tauli</i> in lieu of <i>rasi</i> .
2	<i>Ekan</i>	Paddy main, <i>soyu</i> , <i>kolart</i> , <i>abeyang</i> , <i>rasi</i> , <i>kolart</i> , <i>kassik</i> , pumpkin, gourd, and cucumber are sown sparsely.	
3	<i>Nala</i>	Paddy or <i>rasi</i> repeated	If the land is found fertile <i>nala</i> can be cultivated for two consecutive years.
4	<i>Gada</i>	Ditto	
5	<i>Bokadi</i>	Generally, maize and mustard are harvested from <i>bokadi</i> alternatively every year. At times, paddy is sown in lieu of maize. A small portion of <i>bokadi</i> is used for raising tobacco and black pepper.	
6	<i>Bila</i>	Low land paddy is cultivated once in every year. In some villages, Juangs grow <i>brinjal</i> , tomato, and some varieties of pulses soon after the harvest of paddy.	

Of all the phases of shifting cultivation, felling trees and weeding paddy plots are the longest agricultural processes. Felling down trees require much physical strain and the work takes about a month or more. At this stage some rich families employ parties of labourers from their own kins group to cut down trees from their field. A calendar of agricultural cycle will be given in subsequent pages to show month-wise agricultural operations.

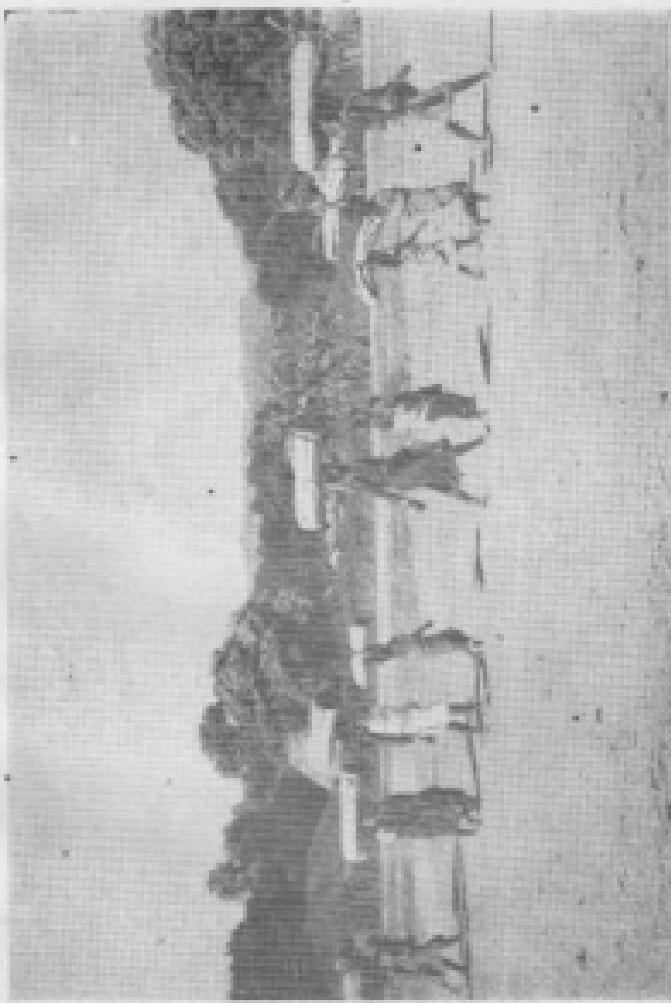
Low land paddy Cultivation

The techniques of low land paddy cultivation are quite familiar to the Juang of Dhenkanal and are not quite unknown to the Juang of Keonjhar. The Juang living in the plains villages of Keonjhar have irrigated paddy plots, and those dwelling on hills have constructed few such plots on or near the stream bed. The low land paddy plots are ploughed twice or thrice

and seed is sown before rains. The hill Juang never manure their paddy plots, but in Dhenkanal they take pain to manure the paddy fields to increase the fertility of the land. The Juang do not transplant paddy, and after the paddy plants are grown up they cross-cultivate their plots and weed the grass and extra paddy seedlings. The paddy fields are much less open to the ravages of wild animals in Dhenkanal, and hence the Juang of Dhenkanal do not take pains to watch their crops at night before the harvest. On the other hand, the few irrigated paddy plots of the hill Juang are often situated in the heart of the Jungle which is the abode of wild animals. Unless they take pains to keep constant watch over these fields and drive away wild animals they can hardly expect to reap a good harvest. The various agricultural operations carried on different types of land are stated in the following table.

TABLE No. 5
Months and Associated Agricultural Operations

No.	Types of land	Agricultural operations	Months when done	Remarks	
				1	2
1	Toda	Felling trees	February-March	For pulses only	..
		Buring	April-May		..
		Ploughing	May-June		..
		Sowing	July		..
		Debushing	August		..
		Watching	November		..
		Harvesting	December		..
		Degassing	April		..
2	Eka	Ploughing	May-June		..
		Sowing	July		..



On way to market with maha

1

2

3

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5



		Debushing and weeding	September-October	..
		Watching	November-December	..
		Harvesting	November-December	..
3. <i>Nala</i>	Nala	Ploughing	May	..
		Sowing	June	..
		Watching	November	..
		Harvesting	November-December	..
4	<i>Gusa</i>	Same as on nala		..
5	<i>Bahad</i>	Ploughing paddy	June	..
		Sowing	July	..
		Watching	September	..
		Harvesting	September	..
6. <i>Ris</i>	<i>Ris</i>	Ploughing mustard	October	..
		Manuring	April	..
		Ploughing	April-May-June	..
		Sowing	June	..
		Cross-cultivation	August	..
		Weeding	August, September	..
		Watching	October-November	..
		Harvesting	December-January	..

Due to the caprices of Nature the Juang have to face constant crop failure. Untimely rain and storm affect the growth of the plants which result in poor harvest. The Juang have also no control over parasite weeds, insects and other pests, which ruin the crops. Considered from this aspect, fallow cultivation is more susceptible to hazards of Nature than the lowland paddy cultivation.

Gleaning

In good old days the Juang were primarily food-gatherers. The old Juang informants sometimes narrate how the forest around the Juang country was once rich with roots,

fruits and tubers, and the Juang of that age could live days together in the midst of woods and forest eating jungle products. The Juang of the present age have also not lost their interest for the wild fruits and roots. In fact, their food is greatly supplemented by roots and tubers collected from the jungle and food collection is still an indispensable phase of Juang economic life. On hills, the poorer Juang families depend on food collection for six to eight months in year, and the plains Juang still continue to go to the jungle in search of roots and tubers. The following table gives a list of some of the edibles collected from jungle.

Table No. 6
Food materials collected from Jungle

No.	Main Item	Names of the things collected
1	Roots and Tubers	Bayam, Banan, Jala Ajang, Kala, Timang, Saldak, Jorai, Ajang.
2	Fruits	Teren, Kandai, Joru, Ale, Kantar, Lanban
3	Greens	Kulai, Alechha, Chakanda, Laliga
4	Mushrooms	..
5	Honey	..
6	Eggs & Insects	..

The food materials collected from the forest have seasonal variation. Fruits are plenty in summer, while mushrooms are available during rainy season. Availability of roots and tubers is also purely seasonal. For example, bayam and

timang are plenty in summer, while banan is dug only in the rainy season. It is necessary, therefore, to give a table showing the months of the year and the kinds of wild fruits, roots and tubers collected in each month.

Table No. 7
Months of the year and the types of Fruits, Roots, Tubers, Etc.
available in each month.

Months	Things collected from the forest
April-May	.. Bayam, Jala Ajang, Kala, Timang, Saldak, Jorai, Honey.
May-June	.. Ale (Mango) Teren, Kandai, Bayam, Honey
June-July	.. Joru, Ale, Uor (Mushrooms)
July-August	.. Kulai, Seg (greens), Alechha, Seg (greens), Kala (maize), Uor (mushrooms), Juari (maize), Khengra (cucumber).
August-September	.. Kuner, Bursam, Seg (greens), Juari (maize), Okhela (mango kernel), Kantar, Khengra (cucumber), Bokala (pumpkin) Suku (gourd).
September-October	.. Kantar, Laliga seg, Lanban, Bayam, Banan, Khengra, Bokala, Suku.
October-November	.. Banan, Bayam, Soris seg (mustard greens).
November-December	.. Soris seg, Bayam, Banan, Ajang
December-January	.. Soris seg, Bayam, Ajang
January-February	.. Timang, Banan, Ajang, Soris seg (beans)
February-March	.. Timang, Bayam, Musun (mehua flower)
March-April	.. Timang, Bayam, Jorai, Musun.

From the above table it is quite clear how different types of fruits, roots, tubers and greens, etc., form an indispensable part of the Juang diet. As pointed out earlier, the Juang, having scanty agricultural produce in their stock, often take recourse to collection of fruits, roots and tubers to keep their body and soul together. The seasonal fruits break the monotony of their diet and of all, the mushrooms of all kinds are greatly relished. The mohua flowers (musa) are boiled and eaten, and these may be dried and stored for future use to distil liquor. The mohua fruits are crushed to extract oil for domestic use.

Hunting

Hunting is one of the traditional occupations of the Juang. Bows and arrows are their only hunting appliances and whenever a Juang goes out he takes an axe, a bunch of arrows and a bow with him for safety. Juangs are not expert archers, but their skill in hunting was quite praiseworthy in the past when they were primarily the dwellers of the forest. At present they still continue to retain their zeal, but it has greatly been reduced due to the restrictions enforced on hunting by the Forest Department. The Juang of Dhenkanal and some Juangs of Keonjhar living in plains villages have little attraction for hunting.

Hunting is more an individual affair than a communal concern in Dhenkanal. On the other hand, those occupying the thick forest region in Keonjhar are comparatively more expert in hunting than

those living in fairly open areas. The Juang of Gudinarda and the adjoining Juang villages situated in the hearts of Kalapat reserve forest are by far the best hunters. In Gudinarda the villagers devote more time in hunting and every year they hunt deer, sambar, boars and other wild games. Occasionally, they also do not fear to aim their arrows at dangerous animals like bisons, bears and tigers at the risk of their life. Bears and tigers are shot for sports, but the meat of the bison is greatly relished.

The last day of Amb Nua (New mango eating) ceremony marks the beginning of the communal hunting for the Juang. The persons desirous of joining the hunting party keep their bows and arrows in the dormitory the previous night. That night they observe continence and refrain from sleeping with their wife. Next morning all assemble in the dormitory. The Nogam, offers pano (molasses-water) to Gram Siri and other deities for a successful hunt, and all go for a hunt. The persons whose wives are in their monthly period are excluded from the hunting party, lest the expedition proves to be a complete failure. If they fail to kill any prey for two or three consecutive days, certain rites are observed for a successful hunting. The members of the hunting party give their bows and arrows to the village women, who again hand these over to the leader of the party. The leader wishes good luck and returns back the bows and arrows to their owners. Just before the party leaves for hunting

one of the Juang women lies down on the ground pretending to be a slain animal. The hunters cover her with twigs and branches and say "Here we have killed a serum (*Shombar*). Today we shall have a successful hunt." Then they go to the forest in search of game.

Before starting on the hunting expedition, the hunters first select a part of the forest where they are most likely to find the game. They single out four to five persons who are reputed to be good archers and make them to sit at strategic points to shoot at the games when they pass before them. Others go in a team and beat at the bushes. They make peculiar sounds, yell at the top of their voices, and throw stones at bushes to frighten the animals. In this way the animals are driven out of the bushes and are made to pass before the persons who sit at key places to shoot. If the animal is wounded and it escapes the Juang take much pain to trace it out. The blood of the kill is offered to the forest deities and all return home with great joy carrying the kill on their shoulder. If a serum is killed the trip is considered to be the most auspicious one and the party returns home shouting merrily and whistling bamboo whistles made readily after the animal is hunted. The drummers go to welcome the party beating their drums loudly. The members of the party first go to the hunter's house, remove the door of his house and place it outside. The kill is kept on it. The hunter's wife spreads a mat for them. All the village women assemble and greet the hunter and his party by

washing their feet in turmeric water. The kill is then cut into pieces and the meat is distributed.

Distribution of meat is made with great care and consideration. The head of the animal is kept to be worshipped on the next day. The hunter whose arrow killed the game, is given a part of the shoulder and a hind quarter as the hunter's share. Another share containing some meat and a portion of the animal's breast is also given to the hunter for his maternal uncle. The rest of the meat is divided into two equal shares one share for the villagers and one for the members of the hunting party. The share for the village is equally distributed to all the families of the village whether or not any of the members of a family participated in hunting. The share for the hunters is equally divided among themselves including the hunter. The hunter keeps his two shares, i.e., one share as a member of the hunting party and one as his family share, and distributes some meat from his lion share to his lineage members and to his villagers. A small share of this meat is equally distributed among all the families of the village leaving the *kutumoll* (lineage) families of the hunter to whom the hunter gives a bigger share of meat.

The hunter takes the breast portion and some more meat to his mother's brother. His mother's brother entertains him with hearty meal and distributes the meat in the village. All the families of the maternal uncle's village contribute one or two *psl* of paddy to the

hunter, but his own maternal uncle gives more paddy and an arrow to his nephew at the time of his departure. He also blesses his nephew saying—

"Take this arrow, and let God bless you so that you earn the fame of being a good hunter. Kill more animals and respect your maternal uncle by offering him meat like this".

The head of the kill is worshipped on the next day. The hunter gives one chicken and five psl of paddy for the ritual. His friends also contribute a chicken each. The paddy is husked, and the rice grains, head-meat, and chickens are offered to Thampi, Bhima, Sadama, other deities, and to the hunters of the past. The Nagam or the hunter officiates in this ritual and offering the shares he prays for future success in hunting. The rice grains, the head-meat of the animal and the chickens are cooked together and all the persons including the young and the old eat this food except those whose wives were undergoing their monthly menstrual cycle.

The ceremonial hunting starts from Amb Nas ritual, and the villagers go on hunting party collectively for a month or two. Since the Forest Games Rules have restricted the freedom of hunting in Dhenkanal and in some areas of Keonjhar, the communal hunting expedition is gradually giving way to individual hunting. Besides, the ceremonial part of hunting is gradually neglected and especially in Dhenkanal, hunting is considered to be most informal and is more the concern of an individual. In

Dhenkanal, a man who goes on hunting on his own accord and kills a game brings it home and eats the meat. He may give a small share to his villagers out of gratitude, but may very well avoid it. But in Keonjhar, even if a person goes to the forest all by himself and brings back a kill home, he has no full right over the meat. The meat is always divided in the traditional manner as described in connection with communal hunting.

The games of the Juang range from bison to wild rats and innumerable birds and beasts. The meat of the tiger and bear are not eaten by them but the meat of the spotted deer, barking deer, shambur, wild pigs, boar and monkey are considered to be of great delicacy. The meat of the peacock and almost all other birds leaving a few like the vultures and crows are also very much relished by the Juang. To kill the birds and beasts the Juang use two different kinds of arrows. The sharp iron bladed arrow is used to put the kill to instant death, while a blunted arrow with bamboo or wooden head is used to shoot at the birds to injure them and stun them without killing.

Fishing

Fishing is another source of getting food for the Juang. The Juang are by no means good fishermen, their fishing equipments consisting of a few bamboo traps and fishing rods. Rivers and streams afford fishing ground for the Juang who occasionally engage themselves in catching fish. The fishing traps can be used only during rainy months when rain water flows from paddy

fields and from stream beds. Some use fishing rods to catch fish during leisure hours. But most common method of catching fish is to dam up the water of a closed area and catch fish by hand or by using a piece of cloth. The fish caught is either eaten or is stored for future use. If the fish is to be eaten immediately, a little salt and turmeric are added to it and it is rolled in a *zal* or *zori* leaf and is fried on embers. Most of the Juang relish dried fish more than the fresh ones. They dry it in the sun or in smoke and store it for future use.

Fishing is comparatively more popular in plains Juang villages of Keonjhar, and in Dhenkanal where the rivers are more wide and where there is more scope for fishing. On hills the stream beds are full of boulders and the streams are too thin and shallow to facilitate fishing. However, fishing seems to be more a fancy for the children than source of livelihood for the elders. The elderly persons engage themselves in other important economic pursuits and hardly make any time to take part in fishing. It is the young boys and girls and in some cases the women who catch fish on their way to the stream for a bath or for fetching water.

Basketry

The art of basket making is completely unknown to the Juang of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar, but in Pallahara the Juang may excell the expert basket-makers in their skill in basketry. About a generation ago the Juang of Pallahara used to work as vendors to Doms and Panas for carrying baskets. They gradually picked up the art of basketry

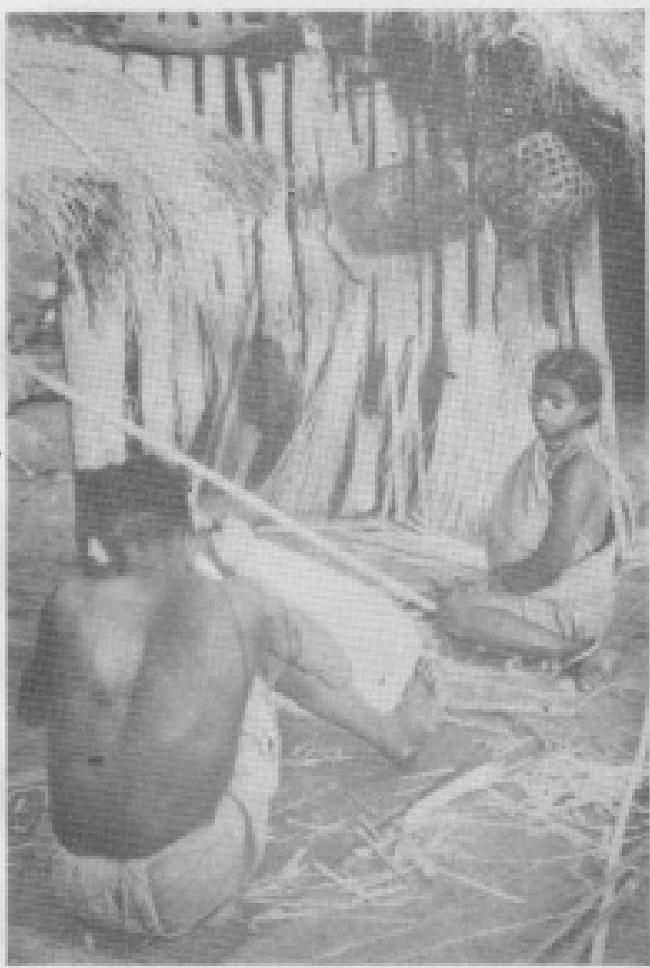
and made their own basket. At present basketry is the main source of their livelihood. They weave baskets of varying types and of all sizes and selling those in local markets they purchase their daily requirements.

Basket making is neither a difficult art to learn, nor is it a costly affair. The forest around Pallahara is rich in bamboo growths, and the Juang are permitted to cut bamboo from the forest. The instruments required for basket-making consist of a long and heavy knife, a crude needle and an axe. Men engage themselves in basket-making, and the women devote their time in doing other tasks.

Bamboo is splitted into fine strips with the help of a knife and with these splits, the Juang weave various patterns. The most popular varieties of baskets are *tups* (baskets for storing paddy and other grains) *taukor* (used for washing rice before cooking) and *utian* (winnowing-fan). They also show their skill in making small and big bamboo boxes which fetch them a good price. Besides the above things, the Juang make huge and strong baskets which are used to store paddy and other grains in greater quantity for future use. Fishing traps of various types, and hats used by farmers are also remarkable for the quality of their workmanship and for their durability.

Animal Husbandry

The Juang have not yet taken to animal husbandry on an extensive scale. They have not enough cattle for their agricultural purposes, and hence many of them either borrow or hire cattle on payment of two to



Basket making in Pallakere

four Khandi of paddy per pair. The poorer families on hills, who are unable to pay for hiring cattle take recourse to hoe cultivation. They select a patch of land on hills and take pain to plough it by means of hoes. Leaving apart these families others have a few cows and bullocks to help in ploughing fields. Cows are never milked by the Juang. They plough field and increase the strength of the cattle wealth by giving birth to calves. Beef eating is strictly prohibited in these days, but some Juangs of Keonjhar eat beef stealthily. Cows are never slaughtered for beef, and the Juang eat beef only in such cases where the cow is killed by a tiger.

Among other animals reared for meat are goats, sheep, pigs, and fowls. Goats are becoming increasingly popular among the Juang.

and some families are found to possess as many as sixty goats. Goats supply meat to the diet of the Juang on feast and festive occasions and may be slaughtered for ritual purposes. They can also be sold in the market and thereby fetch a good sum for the Juang.

Chickens and pigs are also slaughtered for meat either on festive occasions or for ritual purposes. Buffaloes are the most prized of all animals, but only a very small minority can afford to possess buffaloes. Buffaloes are an insignia of wealth and richness. They also plough fields, give milk and can be sold for money to meet contingent expenses. The following table gives a list of various animals reared by the Juang and their utility.

TABLE NO. 8
Domestic Animals of the Juang and their use

No.	Animals Reared	Purpose of Herding
1.	Cows and bullocks	1. Ploughing field 2. Supplying dung for manure 3. Rarely sold for money
2.	Buffaloes	1. Ploughing field 2. For milk and milk products 3. Sold for money
3.	Goats, pigs and sheep	1. Slaughtered for meat 2. Slaughtered for rituals 3. Sold for money
4.	Chickens	1. Mainly used in ritual 2. Slaughtered for meat to entertain guests and relatives. 3. May be sold for money
5.	Dogs	1. Domesticated for fancy 2. Accompany hunting

The animals reared are neither given any fodder, nor any special care is taken for their maintenance. They are taken to the forest for grazing and after they return home they are closed in shed until the next day. Goats are grazed either with the cattle or in a separate group. Buffaloes are always grazed together. Pigs wander around the village and eat rubbish. Separate sheds are made to accommodate buffaloes, cows, goats, sheep, pigs and chickens.

Of all animals the cows are considered to be sacred and every year the Juang worship their cows on Gomha ritual. They view the cows with great reverence, since they till the soil and give them food.

Trade and Barter

The Juang are never good traders and are not specially interested in collecting forest products for sale. The Juang of Juang Pith of Keonjhar take logs and loads of firewood to sell in the Keonjhar market. The Juangs of Baruna, Tangarpada, Gonasika, Bodhua, Champa, etc., cut timbers of valuable trees and take the trouble of carrying them as far as ten to fifteen miles to sell them in Keonjharagadh weekly market. A log fetches three to ten rupees depending on its size and quality and the Juang purchase tobacco, cloth and other necessaries with this money. The unmarried boys spend the money for purchasing gifts for their bandhu girls.

The Juang of the nearby villages always bring loads of firewood to Keonjharagadh for sale.

They also make charcoal by burning logs of wood into embers and sell those. The villagers of Kudipasa, for example, regularly sell fuel and charcoal. A load of firewood fetches twelve annas or a rupee, but a load of charcoal may be sold for three to four rupees.

The Juang women earn a little money by selling mats in the markets. They weave mats of date-palm leaves in their leisure hours and sell these in the market. A mat is sold for eight annas or a rupee and the money may be spent for buying parched rice, sweet potato, cloth or ornaments.

In spite of their hard labour in raising various kinds of crops and in earning money by selling various things the Juang fail to lead a life of plenty and prosperity. Rice is their staple food, but the paddy they grow does not suffice for feeding them for the whole year. Hence the Juang cultivate cash crops like niger (mustard) and mustard and exchange these for paddy and rice. A maund of niger or mustard can be exchanged for two maunds of paddy or for one maund of rice. The rate of exchange may fluctuate and a Juang may get the chance of getting little extra paddy or rice in exchange of their crops. Birl (sulfur) and arhar (senna) are also exchanged for paddy at the same rate as mustard. One thing which very often restricts the Juang to earn a good profit from such exchange is the trick of the local money-lenders. The Teli, Chasa, Sundhi and Gour money-lenders very often advance money or seed loans to the Juang at the time of

scarcity and demand crops at the time of harvest usually at high rates of interest. This leads the Juang into indebtedness and they find that their granary is emptied soon after the year's harvest. Such circumstances often force the Juang to engage themselves as daily or annual agricultural labourers.

Wage Earning

The Juang do not like to work as daily or annual labourers for others unless they are forced by sheer poverty. They prefer to work with their own tribesmen, as the latter are thought to be more considerate and sympathetic. The daily wage varies from area to area. In hill villages of Keonjhar the Juang pay daily wage of two annas in cash or two *pai* of paddy in kind for employing one of their own kinsmen. Besides this wage, the labourer is given cooked rice once so that he can work for the whole day. If cooked rice is not supplied to the labourer he may work for half a day till the noon and returns back home. Such, however, is not the case in plains villages of Keonjhar where the daily wage for employing a tribal man is eight annas in cash or two *pai* of paddy or ragi. If a man is employed for a year he is given food and clothing plus one or two mounds of

paddy per year. Here the servant is considered more as one of the employer's family members rather than a mere labourer, and the employer arranges for his marriage.

At times, the Juang may be employed by non-tribals as labourers. In this cases, the daily wage varies from twelve annas to one rupee in cash or two *pai* of grains and cooked rice. A man engaging himself as an annual labourer to a non-Juang is given fifteen *Khondi* of paddy per year and one *manu* of paddy daily towards his food.

Some Juangs of Keonjhar and Pallahara also go to cut timber from the reserve forest and are paid fairly good wages by the contractors. They earn two to four rupees daily according to the number of trees cut by them.

This, in brief, gives a picture of the economic life of the Juang. Their economy shows variations in Keonjhar, Pallahara and Dhenkanal, but the general trend is almost the same in all places. Agriculture is the main occupation for all but while the Juang of Keonjhar are primarily shifting cultivators, the Juang of Dhenkanal are purely settled agriculturists. Basketry, the main source of income for the Juang of Pallahara, is quite unknown to the Juang of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal.

CHAPTER V

| Life Cycle

Before analysing the different units of Juang social organisation, it is, at the outset, necessary to study the Juang as a member of the society and to describe the various rites associated with the important crises of his life. Hence the various observances connected with the important phases of life such as birth, puberty, marriage and death, are described in this chapter. It is not possible to give a detail description of all the observances from birth till death, but a few important and significant ones are described briefly for their ethnographic interest.

Birth

Birth in a Juang family is always welcome. The main purpose of "purchasing a bride" in marriage is to beget children. Barrenness in woman is severely condemned and in case the wife fails to give birth to child within four to five years of marriage the man is socially permitted to marry again. Barren women are considered inauspicious and people avoid looking at their face when starting on important business. On the other hand women bearing numerous children are esteemed by

the people. A male child is valued more than a female one, in spite of the fact that the parents have to face great economic strains for getting their sons married. The girls, on the other hand, fetch paddy, cloth, and other materials of bride-wealth for their parents and the villagers at the time of their marriage. Considering from the economic point of view both the sons and the daughters are equally helpful for their parents in various economic pursuits. The only fact that the girls leave their parents after marriage, and the sons perpetuate the family line after the father's death enforces greater attachment and inclination for the sons than the daughters.

The Juang are quite familiar with the fact that conception takes place as a result of sexual intercourse between the male and the female. There is a popular saying among the Juang which means "unless the field is ploughed and the seed sown how can one expect the harvest?". Sexual intercourse continues up to the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy, after which it is advisable to

observe continence till the child is born and attains its sixth or seventh month of age. The parturient woman should not eat the meat of any animal slaughtered in rituals and in Keonjhar, she is not permitted to eat anything offered in the Gomasita temple. No other restriction regarding dietary habits is observed by her. She, however, should not see smoke rising from a funeral pyre, nor should she come out when she hears a peal of thunder or sees a flash of lightning. She does her daily duties in the usual manner and helps her husband in doing hard work like hoeing fields, collecting and digging roots and tubers, harvesting crops, chopping firewood, and the like till the delivery. She may abstain from doing strenuous works for ten or fifteen days before the delivery. A Juang woman rarely needs the help of a midwife for delivery. The midwife (*Satrushari*), when called for takes care of the new born, bathe the baby and the mother, and cleans the apartment.

Difficult labour is ascribed to the evil-eye of the enemies or to the ill-will of some malevolent spirits dwelling on hills, forests and streams. If displeased the ancestral spirits also create countless troubles in case of child birth. To counteract the evil-eye and to neutralize the effect of sins or ill temper of the ancestors a number of magical rites are performed. The ghost-finder (*Raulia*) is summoned to perform rites to expel the ghosts. He first gives a few medicinal herbs to the expectant mother to help easy delivery. If

this fails the *Raulia* gets confirmed that some evil spirits are creating trouble. The *Raulia* measures three reeds to detect the spirit or the person obstructing the delivery. If the evil maker is detected to be a sorcerer the *Raulia* performs magical rites to counteract or to neutralize the evils played by the sorcerer. If the labour pain is believed due to the whim of some displeased ancestor sacrifices of chicken, tobacco, liquor, and cooked rice are made to avert his ill temper. The other spirits causing troubles are also properly propitiated to help easy delivery.

If the baby is a male one the *Satrushari* shouts saying that the child is "sengan" or firewood (meaning male child); and in case of a female child she is referred to as alak (literally, leaves). The midwife cuts the naval cord of the newborn, anoints turmeric paste and bathes the baby in tepid water. She cleans the mother and the apartment, and lights a fire to warm the baby and the mother. The mother is advised not to expose herself to rain or cold. The midwife is given remuneration which consists of five to ten pais of paddy, one chicken, and leaf cupful of cooked-rice and curry. In case a son is born she may be given an extra amount of one to two rupees and a brass bangle for her services.

The period of ritual impurity varies from one day to six days. In Keonjhar, the wife may take a bath the next day after the child is born and plaster the house. In Dhenkanal, the Hinduized Juang observe the birth impurity for six days. During the days of impurity

the family members do not perform any ritual. If a birth takes place in the family of a *Kamanda* (ritual assistant) or in his lineage, he is considered ritually impure till he manages to slaughter chickens and propitiate the ancestors for ritual purification. It is only after this that he can sit with the other members while performing rituals.

The mother has to observe certain food taboos after the child birth. She avoids taking curry, meat, and dal which are believed to hamper the health of the child. For four to five months she takes hot rice and salt, and refrains from doing hard labour. This is partly due to the fact that she has to keep constant watch over the newborn and nourish it properly without delay. This hardly gives her time to go to work on fields or to do any other outdoor work. Moreover, she can not carry the baby on her shoulder to the field until and unless the child is about eight months old. Leaving apart these practical difficulties, the mother assumes all her normal household duties as soon as she takes her purificatory bath. However, after three or four months, she resumes her normal functions and discharges the duties by helping her husband in the field, doing agricultural work and in digging roots and tubers.

Name giving ceremony (*Niminchha*)

A name is given to the newborn as soon as after five or six days of its birth, or it may be delayed for three to four months. The ritual called *Niminchha* aims at naming the child and blessing it

for a happy future, free of diseases and calamities. The father procures two to three chickens, worships the ancestors, the village and local deities, and offers them dried husked rice, milk, molasses, chicken, and liquor. He and his wife smear a little turmeric powder on the chin of the child and kiss it. The father prays,

"Oh *Basumat* and *Dharam Deute* *Raithi Pata*, *Grisi* *Shri Pitrapitaki*. To-day I am performing the *Niminchha* ritual for my child. Let him/her lead a peaceful life free from all calamities. Let there be good harvest for the family. Let all the persons and the cattle be in good health".

In naming the child the names of the deceased ancestors are always preferred. It is believed that the dead persons take rebirth in the family. The name of the child's father's father (if dead), or father's brother are preferred in case of male child. In the case of a female child, her father's father's sister's name is preferred. At times, the *Raojd* reads omens by 'measuring' three reeds and selects a name for the child from a whole bunch of names. Giving new and fashionable names is more a fancy in Dhenkanal, but in Keonjhar the children are named after the local trees, flowers, roots and tubers and after certain birds and insects. Thus we get names like *Dunkin* (a kind of cereal), *Basundia* (a kind of tuber), *Bayam* (a kind of tuber), *Munundia* (mohua flower), *Endra* (leopard), and so on. Persons named after their physical

deformity are not completely unfamiliar. Lame persons are named as Choota or Chhuti, and blind persons are called Andha. There are also persons who are named after the name of the day of their birth. Thus, boys born on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Sunday are named as Sambaria, Mangala, Budhia, Guru, Sakru and Rabhi, respectively. Likewise, the girls are also named as Guruhari, Sakru and Rabbari. After a name is proposed the *Rawla* measures the reeds and in case the length of the reeds "increases" the name is considered auspicious and is thereby selected.

The day the child is named the mother cooks rice and the chickens slaughtered in the ritual. Shares of cooked rice and meat curry are distributed among the families of one's own lineage, and in case the family can afford to spend more, the same may be distributed among all the families of the village.

A name once selected is, however, not taken as final. It can be changed and a new name be given in case the child with the original name cries insistently and suffers from frequent ailments. Renaming the child does not involve any further ritual, except that the father may offer some liquor in honour of the family ancestors.

First Hair-cutting and Ear-piercing

First ear-piercing (in the case of female children only) is never associated with any ritual. The mother or any other woman of the village, who knows the job is called in. She pierces the nose and the

ears with brass pins purchased from the local market. This is the practice both in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal.

In Keonjhar the first haircutting is never marked by any ritual, but in Dhenkanal the child's mother's brother is invited on such occasion. He shaves the head of the child and is provided with a hearty meal and liquor. Some Juangs take their children to the local temple and ritually shave their heads there.

No ritual is performed to mark the first-eating of solid food by the child. Weaning starts after the child is four or five years old, and till the child leaves up suckling on his own accord. In case, a new baby is born before the older one is not old enough to live without the mother's milk, then both share the breasts. The babies are fed whenever they cry and are not taught the disciplines of toilet until they are seven or eight years old.

Fostering a Child

In order to avoid the premature death of a child whose elder brothers and sisters died young, the parents may ceremonially hand over the child to the *bara bauli* (village elders) and *maibauuli* (village women). The Juang believe that if the child is ceremonially made over to the care of the villagers it restores health and happiness. On a particular day the father intimates his intention to the villagers, and all the elderly men and women assemble in his house. The *bauli* reads omens and detects the agency creating troubles to the family members of

the affected person. An earthen doll is made representing the evil-maker and the *Nogum* (priest) makes offerings. Praying *Basumata* (Earth Goddess), *Dharmadeva* (Sun God), *Gramairi* (village-deity and other deities), he first draws a circle on the floor with turmeric powder. The doll of the trouble maker is placed inside the turmeric circle and the *Nogum* offers husked-rice grains, molasses and liquor to him praying for the health of the child. Three pairs of split *sof* twigs, measuring three to four inches in length and about an inch in diameter are kept on the hands of the image and the *Nogum* tilts the image to make the split twigs fall down on the floor, while doing this he holds liquor before the image and prays the image to forget anger and take back his curse. All the three pairs of the *sof* twigs are thrown from the hands of the image pair by pair until all the three pairs fall down in a definite manner which is viewed to be auspicious. Of the two split pieces of the twigs one should fall down with the flat surface down and the other one necessarily in order to indicate good luck. After this the women bathe the child in turmeric water and make him to sit on their lap. They contribute one or two beads from their necklace and make a necklace for the child which is tied around his neck. They put turmeric powder on the cheek of the child and bless for his good health. They give a new name to the child and announce him to be their son. The elderly men and women assemble together and perform a liquor ritual. They pour liquor on the ground in the name of the deities and the

pitruki (ancestors) and sprinkle a little over the head of the child wishing him a smooth life. While performing the liquor ritual they pray "Oh Basumata, Dharmadeva, Gramairi, Pitrushakti (ancestors). From today the child ceases to be the son of his father; he becomes the son of the villagers. From today we pour all our blessings over him. Let him be free from all diseases and let him lead a happy life. If any body tries to endanger him, let that person be eaten by tiger, and let his heart burst, and let his tongue be uprooted."

Though the child is ceremonially handed over to the villagers he still retains all his normal relations with his family members. He continues to remain with his parents, and is fed by them as usual. After he grows up, and before his marriage, his parents present about one or two *khandi* of husked-rice, a goat, and liquor worth two to three rupees to the villagers to get back their son ritually. A feast is held and the food is distributed among all the families equally.

Puberty Rites—

There are no specific puberty rites for the girls when they attend their first menstruation, and for the boys when they step into adulthood. The life of the Juang boys and girls revolves around the dormitory house, called *majang*. The boys and the girls after they become youths are admitted into the dormitory as its formal members. The unmarried boys of the dormitory are called *bangeriki* and the girls are known

as *sefuski*. The dormitory life of the *kungeriki* and *sefuski* is described in Chapter Six in connection with youth organization.

Marriage

Marriage is the most remarkable event in the life of the Juang. It serves as a stepping stone to adult life. Life-long bachelors and spinsters have little power and prestige in the Juang society. Apart from the biological aspect of marriage, i. e., the perpetuation of the race, marriage brings recognition to a Juang as a full-fledged member of his community. Considering from the economic point of view a Juang gets a life-long partner by paying bride-wealth to help him in all economic pursuits. The marriage customs of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal Juang show a wide range of variation, but leaving apart the details and the discrepancies a brief and general note on Juang marriage is given in this paper.

Fundamental Principles of marriage

No marriage can be performed without prior considerations of factors like the class of the marrying partners, their generation and other prohibited degrees of marriage. The following five considerations are taken into account before a Juang marriage is finalized.

(i) Both the marriage mates must not belong to one clan. The Juang tribe is divided into a number of clans. Each clan is exogamous and the clan members are treated to be brothers and

sisters. Marriage within one's own clan is considered incestuous and is strictly prohibited.

(ii) Not only each clan is exogamous, but each has a number of associated *kutumb* (non-marrying) clans in which marriage is not permissible. The members of the *kutumb* clans consider themselves to be brothers and sisters and marriage between them is not approved by the society. Marriage is thus permissible between the members of two *bandhu* clans.

(iii) The marrying mates, if possible should stand in proper generation to each other. Though not strictly prohibited or tabooed, marriage in adjacent generations is considered irregular and improper. On the other hand, marriage between the members who stand in the same or alternate generation to each other is considered to be the most ideal.

(iv) Within the own or alternate generation, the factor of kinship relation should also be noticed. The rule of marrying in one's own or alternate generation does not hold good only in one case, where the girl is related to the groom as his wife's elder sister.

(v) The last factor for finalizing a marriage is to forecast its future sanctity and success by reading omens. The omen is tested by placing four piles of husked-rice grains; the piles representing the health of the groom, the health of the bride, the health and happiness of their future offsprings, and for the harvest of the family concerned. Each pile contains three grains of husked rice, two below and the third one lying *yan*

the other two. The piles are properly covered with baskets and are carefully plastered all around to prevent the entrance of ants and other insects inside for disturbing the position of the grains. After eight to ten hours the baskets are removed and all watch if any rice grain is misplaced. Marriage is considered auspicious if the rice grains are found to be in the original position. In case any rice grains are found missing or misplaced the proposal for marriage is at once cancelled.

Preferential Mates

Like the factors of prohibition limiting choice in marriage there are certain points of preference shown in a Juang marriage. Any marriage fulfilling the above four criteria is considered a proper one. Neglecting the generation factor in a broad sense, any brother of proper age is a preferential mate for marriage. In many tribal societies marriage is obligatory between certainkins thus giving rise to cross-cousin, levirate and sororate forms of marriages. In Juang society sororate and levirate marriages are not obligatory though in some cases the widowers tend to remarry the widow of their deceased elder brothers.

Marriage between own mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's son is avoided but one can marry preferably one's classificatory mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son. Marriages are usually monogamous, but polygamy is not prohibited in case of the wife's barrenness.

Adult marriage is very common. Marriage is proposed after the boy is over twenty years of age and after the girl attains her puberty. Child marriages though not completely ruled out, are extremely rare and are performed by a few rich families who can spend more money and grains for such marriages. Child marriage is a recent form of marriage incorporated into Juang society from the caste Hindus. Out of 286 cases of marriage samples collected only four were found to be child marriages.

There are no definite marriage months. "Chait" (March-April) is considered to be the only inauspicious month and marriages performed during this month are believed to result in immature death of the groom. Marriages are preferably performed in Summer months after the harvest and before the rains. After the harvest the people are not only well equipped with sufficient foodgrains, but are free from agricultural labour too. In no case, marriage should be performed or formal marriage negotiation should start before the commencement of *Pus Puni* ritual which is observed in the month of January.

Means of Acquiring Mates

The type of marriage depends on the method by which the bride is brought for marriage. Some forms of marriages are widely practised whereas a few others are occasionally performed. The following is a list of the various types of marriages sanctioned by the Juang.



A girl captured for marriage from a nearby market

1. *Kamandiria Kanta*—

This form of marriage means marriage by arrangement or marriage by negotiation. The term *Kamandiria* means the middle men bringing up the marriage proposal, and the term *Kanta* means the girl or "the bride". Hence *Kamandiria Kanta* means the bride brought (for marriage) by sending middlemen. Under this type two sub-types of marriages are recognised.

(i) *Gatang Kanta*—After a girl is thought to be suitable and after the testing of omens is over the groom's father delegates a party of two to three men to the girl's village for finalizing the marriage proposal. After the marriage is settled and on an appointed day a party comprising of women, unmarried boys, and girls of the bride's village bring the bride to the groom's village for marriage. The boys accompany them with their *chang* (musical drums) and a *chang* competition is held between the groom's villagers and the bride's villagers in the former's village.

(ii) *Tankar Oti*—This form of marriage is a variation of the above type being less expensive and less pompous. Poor parents cannot spend more in providing big feasts for the girl's villagers and hence they take recourse to bring the bride in *Tankar Oti* form of marriage. In *Tankar Oti* marriage, only a few women of the bride's village come with the bride to the groom's village and the groom's father does not have to spend much in providing food for the party. This type of marriage

also lacks *chang* competition between the bride's party and the groom's party.

2. *Digar Kanta*—*Digar Kanta* is a form of marriage by capture. The bride is captured by the groom's representatives from the dancing ground, on her dancing visit to *badilm* village, from bathing ghat, from the jungle while plucking leaves or collecting roots and tubers, or other way to market or fairs. Before a girl is captured for marriage the consent of the groom and the girl's villagers is never taken. What is required is that the boy's parents must have seen the girl beforehand and must be willing for their son's marriage. The girl's parents and her villagers are informed only after she is captured and after the marriage is performed in the boy's house. After the marriage is over the bridal pair, along with the boys, girls, and the elderly men pay a ceremonial visit to the bride's village. They carry money, clothes, paddy and other things for paying the bride-wealth to the girl's village.

Marriage by capture among the Juang does not involve any aggression or quarrel between the boy's and the girl's villagers. Among the *Bhainya* a mock fight is fought between the girl's and the boy's parties. The latter tries to capture the girl where as the former tries to defend. Such type of marriage by capture among the *Munda* leads to much quarrel and conflicts, and the groom capturing the girl is severely beaten by the girl's villagers. But among the Juang, marriage by capture is the most sporting means of getting marriages arranged without spending money and liquor in prior negotiation. If he

girl's parents or her villagers never take a serious view of their girl being captured for marriage, as they believe that "the girls are the treasure of bandhu kept in their custody till marriage and the bandhus take away their wealth whenever they so desire".

3. *Mona Mani*—

Mona Mani is a form of love marriage. The unmarried boys and girls of different villages get ample scope to mix with each other. In case of bandhu boys and girls they exchange dancing trips and make gifts to each other in market places, or in fairs. This opens the door for a boy and a girl to develop special love and liking for each other and this being strengthened they might like to marry each other. Such marriages may be performed in three different ways—

(i) The boy informs and convinces his parents about the girl friend he liked and the parents might bring the desired girl for their son by arranged marriage or marriage by capture.

(ii) The parents, in spite of the son's special liking for a certain girl might not agree to bring her as their daughter-in-law. In such case, the boy may consult with the girl and both flee away to a distant place and get themselves married. After spending a few years there, the couple might return to their own village. This type of marriage is called *Surasa Kania* or marriage by elopement.

(iii) The intense love between a boy and a girl might lead to sex indulgence and the girl gets pregnant. In such a case the boy's and the girl's parents are fined a few

rupees for providing liquor and a small feast to the girl's villagers. The boy is forced to marry the girl with whom he has indulged in sexual intrigue. This form of marriage is called *Udung Kania*.

Out of the three types of love marriages i.e., love marriage by arrangement, love marriage with elopement, and love marriage after the girl gets pregnant the second type is more common than the other two varieties.

4. *Wadi Kania* (Child marriage)

Wadi Kania is a variant form of *Gatong Kania* and is distinct from the latter in that the marriage is performed when the girl is eight to ten years old and the boy below eighteen. This marriage is also very expensive and it brings prestige for the family performing it.

5. *Burha Kania* (Widow Marriage)—

In their old age the Jung widows and the widowers get themselves remarried. A young widower may marry a virgin girl if he so likes by paying more than the standard bride-wealth. On the other extreme a poor unmarried man might marry a young widow to be free from paying heavy bride-wealth. Leaving apart these extreme cases most of the widow marriages are performed between the widowers and the widows. The sexual aspect of the marriage is lacking or very insignificant in such marriage. Old widows and widowers get remarried for rendering mutual help to each other in their socio-economic pursuits and for enjoying companionship in their old age. Cases of widowers and



Brude and gressan are given a ceremonial bath

widows getting remarried at the age of 15 are also encountered in Juang society.

Levirate is a form of widow marriage, but not all widow marriages are of leviratic type. A man may preferably marry his deceased elder brother's wife, if he so likes. He inherits all the property of his deceased elder brother including the latter's widow for whom the brother paid bride-wealth. By marrying the elder brother's widow one need not pay bride-wealth to the wife's relatives.

Though a man has every right to marry his elder brother's widow it is customary to take the opinion of the widow before her marriage. The younger brother of the husband, however, has the highest claim to marry her. In case the former is unwilling the widow can be remarried to any body of her husband's village who stands in the same or alternate generation to her deceased husband. If no such persons are available in her deceased husband's village any body born to the same clan of the deceased and occupying proper generation get the privilege of marrying her. If a widow cannot get remarried to any of the above three parties she may be married to any body who is *kutumb* clan to her deceased husband and *bandhu* to her parental clan. As *kutumb* clan members are viewed to be brothers to each other their widows may thus be exchanged in marriage between themselves.

In widow-marriage no special rites are performed. The *Nagam* (village priest) blesses the new couple and the man entertains the villagers with food and liquor.

6. *Dakhi Kanik* (marriage of the separated and the divorced women)

At times a young wife might not be able to adjust with her husband and leaves him for good. Such separation may force the husband to divorce his wife and marry again. If the girl leaves her husband for no fault of the latter the husband may claim full amount of bride-wealth from the girl's parents before divorcing her. It is only after a girl is formally divorced by her husband that she is free to be remarried elsewhere. Until and unless the divorce ritual is performed by her husband's party she continues to remain legally as a woman of the latter's village and hence cannot be given in marriage to any body else. In order to prevent a separate marrying again the husband's villagers might not like to perform the formal divorce ritual. In such case the husband continues to retain full jural power over his wife and if any body else marries her without taking his prior permission he can claim the full amount of bride-wealth from the new husband.

7. *Ghar Jamar*

This type of marriage in which one marries the daughter of a sonless man and inherits his property is extremely rare among the Juang. The social status of an adopt son-in-law is very low in Juang society. A survey of more than twenty villages revealed only one case of *Ghar Jamar* marriage.

The following table gives a quantitative account of the various types of Juang marriages.

Table 9
Type of Marriages in Juang Society

Types of marriages (in Juang dialect)	English equivalent	No. of case	Approximate percentage
			1 2 3 4
A. Arranged marriages			
1. <i>Gatang Koria</i>	Marriage by negotiation	79	28.2
2. <i>Wad Koria</i>	Child marriage	4	1.4
3. <i>Tankor Oti</i>	Marriage by arrangement	37	13.2
4. <i>Hatos Koria</i>	Hindu type of marriage	1	0.4
Total	...	121	43.2
B. Marriage without negotiation			
5. <i>Digar Koria</i>	Marriage by Capture	134	47.9
6. <i>Burha Koria</i>	Widow Marriage	20	7.1
7. <i>Masa Masi</i>	Love Marriage	3	1.1
8. <i>Surum Koria</i>	Marriage by elopement	2	0.7
Total	...	139	56.8
Grand Total	...	260	...

The above table unfolds four interesting features in Juang marriages.

(1) Negotiation in Juang marriage is not necessarily a strict procedure for finalising it. Marriage by capture, marriage by elopement, and love marriages involving no negotiation are as important as arranged marriages. In fact, 56.8 per cent of the total marriages were found to be of non-arranged type as opposed to 43.2 per cent of marriages by negotiation.

(2) Love marriages are rare among the Juang. Though the youth organization of the tribe provides ample scope for free exchange of love between the potential marriage mates, in very few cases the growing love between them leads to the extent of marrying each other. Out of the total 260 cases only five cases were reported to be love marriages. This shows that love marriage, though not quite unknown is not very much favoured by the Juang.



General handling cost of herbicides applied to the field in September

(3) Marriage by capture is most common among the Juang. Nearly 48 % of the marriages are marriages by capture against the other seven forms of marriages.

The marriage samples, supplemented by the data collected by interview show a marked difference between the type of marriage preferred and the type of marriage actually performed. *Gateng Konia* of the arranged variety is considered to be the most ideal form of marriage, but since this involves high expense on the groom's parents very few people can afford it. *Digar Konia* or marriage by capture is thus widely practised which as compared to *Gateng Konia* is relatively less complex and less expensive. No time and money are wasted prior to the marriage in sending *Kamandirias* (marriage-brokers) and providing them with food and liquor for arranging marriages. What is required, in this type of marriage is that the groom's parents must have had seen the girl beforehand, and as soon as things for bride-wealth and for the marriage feasts are arranged they seek an opportunity to capture the girl and perform the marriage ceremony.

Financing of Marriages

The main heads of expenses in a Juang marriage are the bride-price paid to the girl's relatives, the feast and the purchase of marriage articles. The total expenses for a marriage vary in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, and range from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 or more. The major expenses are on feast.

Since the girl is brought in marriage to groom's family and the marriage is performed, in the groom's village, the girl's parents do not have to spend any money for marriage. This custom of Keonjhar and Pallabara does not hold good in Dhenkanal where the groom, just like the Oriyas, goes to the girl's village with party and marrying her there returns to his village. In such case the girl's father has to spend in feeding the groom's party. The bride-wealth paid by the groom's party both in Keonjhar and Pallabara consists of five to six khandi of paddy and rice, a chicken, five to six pieces of cloth for the girl's relatives, a few bottles of liquor, and three to four ruppes in cash. All these amount to Rs. 110 but unless a man is rich enough, he cannot pay the full amount of the standard bride-wealth. The system of paying bride-wealth is no more a custom among the Juang of Dhenkanal. In their marriages, they present some ornaments to the bride, but do not pay anything to her relatives towards the bride-wealth. The overall expenses of marriage are borne by the parents, but the relatives and the villagers also give presents of paddy, rice, goat, pig, chicken, cloth, or money. This system of helping in marriage is reciprocal.

Death Rites

To the Juang, death has always an evil association. It is always feared and is believed to be the work of the hostile spirits, black magic, witchcraft, or the wrath of gods and deities. The truth that death is unavoidable and no one

can escape it in the mortal world is not unknown to the Juang, yet they cannot face the cases of death boldly. They fight tooth and nail to save a man till his last gasp by administering local medicines and by performing all sorts of magico-religious rites. Notwithstanding all their efforts, if death occurs the Juang console themselves and make arrangements for proper disposal of the dead. The funeral customs of the Juang of Keonjhar vary to a certain degree from the Juang of Dhenkanal but the basic rites are almost identical. A general account of the funeral rites observed for an adult who dies a natural death is given below:—

After a man dies his women relatives including his wife and a few others from his lineage lend the air with loud lamentation which continues till the dead body is taken to the cremation ground. Such wailing signifies the grief of the relatives for whom the parting of the deceased was extremely frustrating. If this is not done it is believed that the departed soul would not realize the depth of sorrow of his relatives and would grumble in the other world. The corpse is carried on a wooden or bamboo bier made of two long poles with a rope. The number of the small cross pieces is not definite unlike the case with the Oriyas. A piece of mat, formerly used by the deceased, is spread over the bier and the corpse is laid over it. Some tobacco and a few dried oil leaves are kept beside the corpse and a piece of cloth is spread over it. It is carried on the shoulder by

four to eight persons and taken to the cremation ground by an unfrodden path.

The Juang burial ground is preferably situated in the forest close by some stream. Logs of dried firewood are cut down and a pyre is made. An elderly man brings a Jambu twig and waves it over the deceased's face. To facilitate the release of the soul or spirit from the dead body he brings some water from the stream in a leaf cup and puts some of it in the mouth of the dead body. The body is then laid down on the pyre the head facing towards the east, and then fire is set to it. The persons accompanying the funeral procession leave their axes on the path and come back home after taking a bath on their way. Just after the funeral party leaves the village, the widow of the deceased throws away the cooking pots and goes half way towards the cremation ground to offer a share of cooked rice for her husband. The house is plastered with cowdung and water and a copper coin dipped in water is kept in a broken piece of gourd or earthen pot. It is placed on door way of the deceased's house. Returning from the funeral ground all sprinkle a little of this water to purify their body.

Next day all the persons again go to the funeral ground to perform the remaining rites. Some of the possessions of the deceased including an axe, an arrow, a bow, a digging stick, one or two umbrellas, leaf-umbrella, a brass bangle and a few bead-necklaces of his wife are taken to the funeral place along

with some husked rice, turmeric powder, a leaf cap full of cooked rice, and an old earthen cooking pot. On the way to the burial ground a man throws away some paddy grains on both sides of the path with a view to drive away the evil spirits. Reaching near the pyre they wash away the ashes and the charred bones, retaining only a piece of the scapulae. An elderly person makes an earthen idol representing the deceased and laying the idol in a sleeping posture he inserts a Jambu twig on its chest. Praying to Basavanna and Dharam Deo he makes a circle of turmeric powder facing east and offers a pile of husked rice to the deceased. He makes a hole in the bottom portion of the old earthen cooking pot and keeps it on the right side of the idol. The possession taken from the dead man's house are displayed around and all pray to the deceased "Oh you (by name), Now you have left us. We are giving you your shares. Receive those and be satisfied. Go to Heaven and tell Fama (Death God) that there is no body else on earth after your passing away".

A piece of thread smeared with turmeric powder is tied seven times around the scapulae and the same is again tied to the Jambu branch inserted on the chest of the earthen idol. After a while the bone is thrown into the stream, and all return home with their axes left in the funeral ground on the previous day. On their way, they wash their clothes and the axes and take a purificatory bath in a stream.

The deceased's mother's brother (own or classificatory) is called in

to officiate as the priest in the death ritual. He cooks some rice inside the house in a piece of new broken earthen pot and kills a chicken by beating it on the floor. The cooked rice and the chicken are kept near the door step. The mother's brother holds one of the legs of a chicken in his right hand and a feather dipped in castor oil in his left hand.

The persons who return from the funeral ground touch the leg of the chicken, throw a few grains of cooked rice on the leaves spread outside the house, again touch the chicken's feather, break a little of the twig called *lafuk*, and sprinkle a few drops of copper-coin water on their body. Some more water and a coin are kept in front of the house, and the mother's brother slaughters another chicken. The blood of the chicken and some castor oil are poured on the floor. The persons undergoing death pollution take a date of the chicken's blood and castor oil and a few drops of coin water to sprinkle on their body. This makes them free from all pollutions.

The unusual cases of death such as murder, suicide, persons dying of snake-bite, cholera, small-pox, labour pain etc., are treated with different rites. The dead bodies of such persons are never cremated but are buried unlike those who die a natural death. It is believed that persons who are killed by tiger are transformed into tiger-spirits who wander around the forest and kill human beings. Women who dye during child birth turn into witches and always attack babies and inflict fe-

ver and sickness on them. In such cases the child is brought out of the womb after the mother dies and both are buried separately. In case the children and the unmarried persons die, they are just thrown away and the defiled persons sprinkle some water in which a copper-coin is dipped.

The role of the mother's brother, however, cannot be ignored. Unless he is called the relatives cannot be purified. He gets a chicken and some husked-rice for his food and may be given liquor worth eight annas or more. Only in cases of death of a *kamguda* that the mother's brother gets the bows and arrows of the deceased, his metal bowl for eating rice, and one of his axes.

The funeral feast is held as soon as the family concerned can make necessary arrangements for it. Poor persons give a small feast to the persons attending the funerary rites, but rich persons may give a feast to all the villagers, and to their relatives belonging to other villages.

Death pollution continues for two days in Keonjhar and Palibara, but in Dhenkanal the Hinduized Juang observe it for eleven days. During these days the dead man's lineage members in general, and his own family members in particular, observe certain food taboos. They refrain from eating non-vegetarian dishes and may not anoint their body with turmeric and oil. All the families of the lineage throw away their old earthen cooking pots. In cases of death in a husband's own family, or within his own lineage, he has to undergo special purificatory rites by slaughtering chickens or goats. Unless this is done he loses the right to participate in any of the rituals.

The Juang believe that the spirit of their ancestors live inside their house under the dasha portion but do not perform any rites for calling back the shades or spirits of the deceased.

CHAPTER VI

Youth Organization

The dormitory house of the Juang is called *Majang*. The *Majang* is usually bigger in size than the ordinary houses and is situated at the centre of the village. It is constructed by the unmarried boys called *Kungerki* who sleep here at night. The unmarried girls called *Sefunki* plaster it in every two or three days. Inside the *Majang* are kept the drums, the *chenguis* and food grains of the village common fund. A fire is kept burning day and night at the centre of the *Majang* and the boys sleep encircling it. They sleep on mats of date-leaves woven by girls and have a wooden structure as their pillow. While sleeping they keep their feet towards the fire and their heads to the direction of the *Majang* walls.

Factors determining the admission in dormitory

The factor of age determines that the members of certain specific age categories are permitted to be or are formally admitted into the dormitory as its members. Generally the dormitory is the organization of the unmarried youths and one ceases to be its member after his/her marriage.

The terms unmarried, as used in this context includes the persons of both young and old age, and hence the bachelors and the spinsters are also considered to be the formal members of the Juang dormitory.

Marriage, as a bar to membership, operates against both sex and age categories in dormitory organization, but the cases of the widows or the widowers are an exception to the standard norm. The widowers always sleep in the *Majang* with the unmarried boys, and one or two widows always sleep with the *Sefunki*. In fact the widowers (generally old persons who have no inclination to marry again) and the widows (old enough so that there is least chance of them getting remarried) are conceptually considered as *Kungerki* and *Sefunki*, respectively, in an informal way. Besides sleeping with the unmarried youths they also co-operate and take active part in the gross activities of the youths.

Sex and age are the two important factors for *Majang* organization, but these are not the only factors determining whether or not one is to be considered a formal member of the *Majang*. In the

connection it may be mentioned that the membership of the *Majang* is not compulsory. A person of proper age and sex may not necessarily have to be the member of dormitory. The factor of wealth fosters the usual trend and acts as an important determinant. A person desirous of becoming a member of the *Majang* should have enough money and crops to contribute to the common fund of the *Kangerki* and should be able to afford the cost for undergoing the initiation ceremony marking his membership in the dormitory. An unmarried boy of twenty years in Phulbadi was found to be not recognised as a formal member of the *Majang* due to three reasons, i.e., for his poverty in contributing money and grains to the common fund of the *Kangerki* and for undergoing the initiation ceremony to be a *Kanger*; for his incapability to beat *chang* with the *Kangerki*; and for not sleeping in the *Majang* with other unmarried boys. Since he was not considered to be a member of the *Majang* he was debarred from enjoying the powers and privileges of the formal members of the dormitory.

Admission into the *Majang*

Membership to the dormitory is not casual in *Juang* society. It is always accompanied by 'rites de passage'. The term *Kanger* is a general term to mean the unmarried boys of marriageable age. But to be considered as a formal member of the dormitory, i.e., to be a full-fledged *Kanger*, a

boy should undergo an initiation ceremony on *Ambe Nuu* (first mango-eating ceremony).

Ambe Nuu is observed in the month of February-March when mango fruits are ceremonially offered to the village deities and ancestors before the villagers start eating mangoes. The *Kangerki* have special roles to play in this ritual. They worship their *chang* and drums and offer shares of chicken and rice piles to *chang* gods. Also on this day fresh candidates are admitted into the *Majang*. A candidate desirous of becoming a member of the *Majang* contributes some rice and a chicken for the ritual. The old members of the *Majang* cook food near the streams. The new candidates offers shares of cooked rice to the ancestors in a kneeling posture keeping one of his legs on a pole spread horizontally over two forked pillars of 4 to 5 feet high. The elderly members throw hot water at his pelvis and private and the boy has to face the ordeal boldly without complain. A torn piece of mat is tied around his head and a bell hung at his waist. He runs around the *Majang* seven times with other members of the *Majang* accompanied by a small boy beating *chang* with a stick in front. While the boys keep running around the *Majang* the older people shout loudly and throw ashes at them from inside the *Majang*. It is only after this that the boy is formally admitted into the dormitory and is known as a full-fledged *Kanger*.

The significance of tying a mat around the head of the new *Kanger* is not known, but tying bell signifies some use. It rings when the boy runs and by hearing the sound the villagers come to know about his admission into the dormitory. Running seven times around the dormitory house signifies that the life of the new member is formally attached to the association and the activities concerning the dormitory.

Brites-de passage for Girls to be *Selanki*

Every girl, after attaining puberty is called a "Selan" but before becoming a full-fledged *Selan*, she cannot take part in some of the activities of the formal *Selanki*. For example, she cannot make a gift to *Bandhu* boys and is not given a share of the gift which the *Bandhu Kangerki* make to the

village *Selanki*. She also cannot accompany the *Selanki* when they pay formal dancing visits to their *Bandhu* villages. No big ritual is performed for a girl to step into the status of a formal *Selan*. When a girl wants to be a *Selan* she asks the elder *Selanki* and they give a share of the gift of their *Bandhu Kangerki* to her. It is after eating this, that a girl assumes the status of a formal *Selan*.

Age-grades in Juang Society

The life of a Juang is based on a ninefold age-grade classification. According to this the male and female population are divided into nine classes. The distinctive paraphernalia and privileges of each group will be discussed afterwards.

TABLE No. 10
Age-grades in the Juang Society

(A) Age grades for Males				
Serial No.	Age grades	Approximate age in years	Residence	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1	<i>Wadi</i> (Child)	Upto 8 years	At home with parents.	..
2	<i>Kona Kanger</i>	8-15 years	At <i>Majang</i> , or at home.	..
3	"Kanger" (un-married boy).	15 years till marriage.	At <i>Majang</i>	Not a formal <i>Kanger</i> .
4	<i>Kanger</i>	Ditto	Ditto	Same as above but having undergone initiation ceremony.

Serial No.	Age Grades	Approximate age in years	Residence	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
5	Kanathava Kanger (married man).	After marriage till old age.	At home with wife.	Continues to be a formal member of the Majeng till he gives a chicken and some rice to Kangerki on Amb Nag and retire from the youth organization.
6	Burhi or Basavas (Old man).	After 5½ years	Ditto	..
7	Kanavada	After marriage and generally in old age.	Ditto	After being invited to an office through a special ritual.
8	Widower	After the death of wife.	At Majeng	..
9	Bachelor	..	Ditto	..
(B) Age Grades for Females				
1	Wadi (Child)	Up to 8 years	At home with parents.	..
2	Tekkai Selas	8 to 13 years	With girls widows.	..
3	"Selas"	After marriage till marriage.	Ditto	Not a formal Selas
4	Selas	..	Ditto	A admitted as a formal member of the dormitory after certain observations.
5	Garota Selas (married lady).	After marriage	At home with husband.	Before start sleeping with the husband in his office cake to bacco and mat to the members of her village dormitory.
6	Burhi (Old lady)	After marriage in old age.	Ditto	..
7	Kanavada Rase (wife of a Kanavada).	Ditto	Ditto	After the husband becomes a Kanavada and assumes an office.

Serial No.	Age-grades	Approximate age in years	Residence	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
8	Ali bat dor (widow)	After the death of the husband.	In her house alone or with girls.	..
9	Spinner

The discrepancy between the biological and social age groups is bridged up within the frame work of youth organisation. The social norm does not favour an ordinary person to joke with any body who stands in adjacent generation to him or her, but the *Kongerki* and *Selanki* of own, alternate, and adjacent generations are allowed to joke with each other within their own group. This is because, in a broad sense, all the *Kongerki* are considered as brothers and all the *Selanki* as sisters to each other.

Formal observation for marking of the line between the unmarried and the married

After marriage, a *Konger* automatically steps into the status of a *Kanathaka Konger* but he continues to work and co-operate with the *Kongerki* till he can afford to get himself detached from the association of the *Kongerki* through a special observance. Right after the marriage the groom does not sleep with his wife. A new house is built for him and on the consummation day of the marriage he has to take farewell from the *Kongerki* by giving them cakes, tobacco, and a mat.

After this formal observance the boy is permitted to sleep with his wife, but he still continues to be a

regular member of the boy's dormitory and fulfils most of the obligations of his association group. When he wants to resign from the group of the *Kongerki* he gives one pal or more rice and a chicken to the *Kongerki* on the *Ami Nua* ritual day. It is after this only that he ceases to be a working member of the youth's group.

Similar is the procedure for a girl to get herself detached from the membership of the youth organization. After her marriage and before she sleeps with her husband she visits the *Kongerki* and *Selanki* of her village to take farewell from them and offers them cakes, tobacco and a new mat.

The Role System

Every age group is entrusted with special roles and responsibilities under the purview of the dormitory and youth organization. The roles of certain specific age groups as directly concerned with the dormitory life would be discussed here. The boys and girls of the *Maibang* choose a sponsor of their own known as *Tandukar* who acts as their guardian and moral adviser. The role of the *Tandukar* is also described in this connection. The following table summarizes the duties of different age groups in youth organization.

TABLE II

Duties of Various Age Groups in Juang Youth Organization

Age Groups	Various Roles and Responsibilities
1. Kangerkki	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bringing firewood for the <i>Majang</i> fire 2. Thatching and repairing of the <i>Majang</i> and construction of new <i>Majang</i> in case of changing village sites. 3. Installing stone emblem for <i>Gram Siri</i> in a new village. 4. Making charpoys and drums 5. Contribution of goats, pigs, or sheep for important village rituals. 6. Cooking for <i>Kamandaki</i> on ritual days 7. Collecting rice and other food stuffs from every house for the guests and visitors and for feeding <i>Bandhu</i> girls on their dancing visits. 8. Help cooking and fetching water in feasts and marriages. 9. Beating <i>Changti</i> overnight on ritual days 10. Obeying <i>Tundakar</i> and the village elders 11. Hired as a communal working party by <i>Tundakar</i> or by other villagers. 12. Bringing firewood to the house of the groom or bride on the occasion of marriage and for <i>Tundakar</i> and village officers on major festive occasions. 13. Helping outsiders to carry their bags and baggages to the next nearest village. 14. Storing bundles of grains in the <i>Majang</i> as a common fund of the village.

Duties of Various Age Group in Juang Youth Organization

2. Selanki	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Plastering <i>Mojung</i> and sweeping the plaza in every three or four days and positively on ritual occasions. 2. Supplying leaf cups and plates on feasts and festivals, and for the guests and visitors. Grinding spices on above occasions. 3. Husking paddy given from the common fund of the village. 4. Grinding cakes on certain village rituals. 5. Getting hired as a working party 6. Dancing overnight on ritual and festive days 7. Obeying the <i>Tandukar</i>, the widows, and the village elders.
3. Widows and spinsters sleeping with the girls.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Taking care of the girls and keeping an eye as to what they do. 2. Decide and select the village to which the girls should go on dancing visit. 3. Accompany the girls in dancing trips. 4. Help in courtship between the girls and their <i>Bandhu</i> boys. 5. Carry gifts sent by the girls to their <i>Bandhu Kangerki</i> and bring the information back from the latter.
4. Widowers and bachelors.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Keeping an eye on the activities of the <i>Kangerki</i> and helping them in co-operative works.
5. Sene <i>Kangerki</i> and <i>Tobish Selanki</i> .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fagging for the senior members and helping them in doing menial works and running errands.

6. Tundakur

1. Taking care of the *Kangarki* and *Setonki* and helping them in their need by lending money, rice and other things.
2. Can hire the boys and girls to work on his field
3. Should watch and see that the boys and girls do not violate any norm of the society or neglect in their duties.
4. Can punish them for neglecting in their duty
5. Must be consulted before any body hires the boys and girls as a working party.
6. Should give cooked rice to the boys and girls on major festive occasion, and should slaughter a goat or sheep for them when he retires from the office of the Tundakur.

Failing to do the duty, as prescribed by the norms of the society, is considered as a deviation for which the offenders are punished by the village elders. The punishment may be of four kinds—

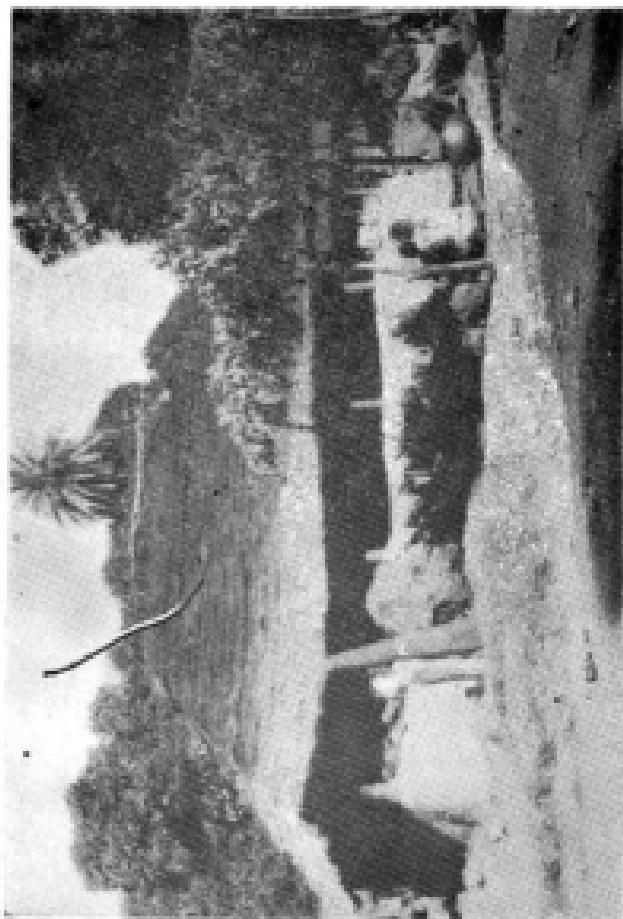
(1) Expulsion from the *Majong*

2) Physical punishment like standing on one leg holding the ears, putting the second finger in excreta, etc., in minor offences, and beating in case of adultery and incest.

(3) Fines of money, liquor, goat and rice.

(4) Verbal scolding and caution not to repeat the work again.

Both the girls and the boys are punished for failing to discharge their duties properly. The boys are generally punished for not bringing firewood to the *Majong* and for not obeying the village elders. Similarly the girls are found fault with if they do not plaster the *Majong* and sweep the plaza regularly. It first attracts the attention of the village elders when the boys or girls are found guilty in neglecting their duties. They first accuse the Tundakur for not supervising the work of the *Kangarki* and *Setonki*. Sometimes the Tundakur is fined one or two rupees for the fault of the boys or the girls after which the blame falls on the actual offenders. One of the main features of the Juang youth organisation is the collective responsibilities of its members. For negligence of one's duties or for the failure to carry



A view of the 'big men's' dormitory (Maling) in Rarotonga

Yi

out any assigned task in case of one member of the dormitory, all the members of the organisation are liable to be punished. They are fined, the fine being rice (generally one to two Khundi), a goat or a pig, and about two to five rupees for liquor for the village elders. They collect these things from their own houses or borrow from some body on an agreement to pay it off by working on the creditor's field. The fines are used for holding a feast in the village.

Remuneration for the Different Age groups.

It has been dealt in earlier pages that every age group has its powers and privileges affiliated with its rights and responsibilities. In other words, each responsibility is rewarded in the formal structure of the society. Each status enforces certain duties and the rewards motivate the duties to be translated into action. The privileges and the remunerations of the various age-groups associated with the dormitory organization are described briefly.

A. Kangerki and Selunki—

(i) During marriages the Kangerki and Selunki always associate with the groom's party (no special rites are observed in bride's village since the bride is taken to the groom's village for marriage). The boys bring fire-wood and the Selunki bring leaves to the groom's house. During the marriage period they are fed by the groom's parents.

(ii) A major portion of the bride-wealth which the groom's party gives to the bride's villagers goes

formally to the Kangerki and the Selunki of the bride's village, though the amount, in fact, is shared by all the villagers. Two Khundi of paddy and two Khundi of rice (out of the total amount of seven Khundi of paddy and six Khundi of rice) are given for the Kangerki and Selunki as their expenses for turmeric and oil (Kanger Selan ajan usamp).

(iii) For giving constant company to the bride and the groom in the groom's village, the Kangerki and Selunki get a special share of rice (about ten Pui or a Khundi) and a goat or a chicken. The Kangerki and Selunki cook it and distribute among themselves.

(iv) After marriage the bride and the groom pay a visit to the bride's village with the bride-wealth. The Kangerki and Selunki accompany the married couple. During their stay in the bride's village they are fed by the bride's parents.

(v) On major ritual days the Kangerki and Selunki bring fire-wood and leaves to the Tondakar and they are fed by him.

(vi) The day a new Tondakar is selected by the Kangerki and Selunki (the former gives one share of cooked rice and meat curry to the Kangerki and Selunki of the village. Similarly when a Tondakar resigns from his office he provides cooked rice and meat curry to the Kangerki and Selunki.

(vii) When a man becomes a Kamanda (an office by virtue of which he can take active role in

rituals of the village) he gives a special share of cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selunki*.

(viii) On every ritual occasion the *Kawandak* get the head meat of the slaughtered animals which no other married people except them can eat. This meat and the rice grains used in the rituals are cooked in the *Majung* by the *Kangerki*. Both the *Kawandak* and the *Kangerki* eat this food.

(ix) Lastly, the *Kangerki* and *Selunki*, when hired as a working party are given rice and goat which they cook and eat on any convenient day.

B. *Tandakar*—(i) It has already been pointed out that on major ritual or festive occasions the *Kangerki* and *Selunki* are given a meal by the *Tandakar*. On the above occasions the *Tandakar* is supplied with fire-wood and leaves by the *Kangerki* and *Selunki*.

(ii) When the *Selunki* and the *Kangerki* of a village receive gifts from their *Bandhu* *Kangerki* or *Selunki* they give a share of their gift to the *Tandakar*.

(iii) The *Tandakar* has the right to ask the *Selunki* and *Kangerki* of his village to work on his field even though he cannot pay them anything for their labour.

C. *The Widows and the Widowers*—They do not get any remuneration from the village. Only those widows and widowers who associate more with the

Kangerki and *Selunki* are given shares of the gift the latter receive from their *Bandhu* friends.

Organized behaviour as manifested in communal and group endeavour is a special feature in the tribal societies and is in full swing in the dormitory life of the Juang.

It is interesting and important to observe how such group activities are organised and how these are translated into action. Co-operation of the group members and their common interests find full expression in two situations, i.e., dancing visits exchanged between *Bandhu* boys and girls, and their common economic pursuits like cultivating common patches of forest land, working as hired labour parties for wages, collecting oil-seeds from the jungle, etc.

Dancing Expeditions

In Juang *Garh* most of the Juang villages are *agni-clan* villages. Marriages are strictly forbidden in one's own village and in village which are related as *Kutumb* (agnate). Marriages are only performed between *Bandhu* villages. All these rules also apply to the dancing organization of the boys and the girls. Dancing visits are exchanged between *Bandhu* villages. If the *Kangerki* develop special love and liking for the *Selunki* of a particular village they give gifts of fried-rice, ribbon for buns, combs, etc., to the girls and invite them to visit their village. In order to convey their eagerness for change dance the boys may tie the gifts in a piece of cloth and leave the cloth



In spite of the Reforms the girls are educated hardly to be spared in the costume and of the boys' and the girls' *Handels* (public) in other respects are kept on a plainer. The *Glockens* and drums are kept hanging on the walls.

with the girls telling them to return the cloth on their trip to the boys' village. Sometimes, they also appeal for the girls' consent in a joking manner by saying, "if you do not come to our village, then let your own brothers marry you". While making gifts the boys and the girls try to flatter each other. The boys identify themselves as "the sons of unicouchables" and address the girls as "the daughters of kings". The girls also answer in a similar manner describing themselves as inferior to the boys. The girls distribute the gifts of their Bandhu Kangerki among themselves and give a small share to the Kangerki of their own village. When the boys distribute the gifts of their Bandhu girls they also give a small share to their village girls.

Before making a dancing trip the *Sehanki* collect rice or *padeo* from their houses and prepare cakes to take for the Bandhu Kangerki. They also take tobacco and liquor with the cakes as gifts and go to the boy's village with some windows and old ladies of the village. They take shelter in any body's house but generally the house of a close relative is preferred. The girls call the Bandhu boys to this place and ask about their health and happiness. The boys always give funny replies to attract the girls saying that "some of them were sick," "some had broken their legs on their way back home from the forest", "some could not walk for crushing their feet with an axe while chopping firewood," etc. The boys also ask about the health of the girls and the girls reply in the usual funny manner. The girls give cakes, tobacco and other gifts

they brought for the boys and say jokingly that the boys might not like the things brought by the "untouchable" girls.

During their stay the girls and the party are fed by the Kangerki and by the village elders. Both the villagers and the Kangerki equally share the burden of feeding the girls. The Kangerki provide rice, dal, etc., for the meals from their common fund, if they have any stock, otherwise they collect such things from their own houses or bring in loans from others. The villagers also collect their shares in insimilar fashion.

Food is cooked by the villagers on the plaza outside the Majang at night and inside the Majang during the day. It is sent to the girls in leaf cups, prepared by the *Sehanki* of the boys' village.

Changsu dance goes on night and day, but is more free at night. At night the village elders retire from the Majang and go to sleep in their own houses. A strong competitive spirit develops between the boys and the girls and each party tries to defeat the other. The boys try to beat *changsu* overnight and make the girls to dance. They beat *changsu* in alternate groups. The girl also split up into two groups and dance intermittently. If the girls try to flee away from the dancing ground to sleep the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise, the girls do not let the boys fall asleep and try to keep them alert by pouring water on them. It is really painful for the boys to get themselves fatigued for the boys to get themselves drenched by the girls in the

During the dance both parties try to display fun in each other. The girls kick and step on the foot of the boys while dancing. They also throw ashes, mud water and turmeric water at the boys and the boys throw the same things back at the girls. Juang girls never sing in *changu* dance. The boys get full scope to display their joke towards the *Bandhu Selunki* during *changu* beat through songs and the girls cannot reply to it except by kicking, pulling *changu* from their hands and throwing ash and water at them. The singing competition between the boys and the girls takes place when each party sings and answers to each other on their way back home from market fairs, or while working together in the field. Each party sings in chorus to the other. They sing so sweetly and work so smoothly that they forget to go back home and eat their noon meals.

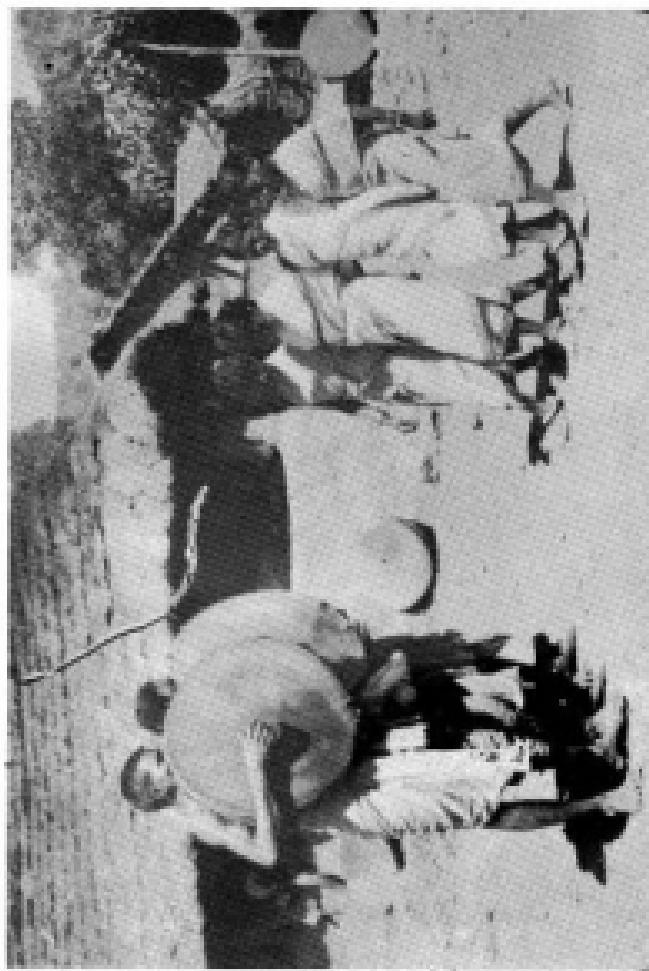
At the dead of the night when all the villagers fall asleep the boys take the girls to a secluded place for massaging. The boys tell the girls, "Let us go to the forest to figurative expression of massaging". The girls reply jokingly, "we have never learnt how to search for tooth-twings". The boys say, "Come, we will teach you". On certain occasions the *Selunki* of the boys' village also induce the *Bandhu Selunki* to massage their 'brother' (meaning their own clan *Kangerki*). The boys get themselves massaged in a group seating to each other or may pair off with one girl each to different places, but in no case they sit wide apart from each other. While getting massaged a boy may fondle the

breasts of the girl but the joking behaviour does not lead to actual sexual indulgence.

On the parting day the girls are entertained with a meat-meal. A goat, a pig, or a sheep is slaughtered for them and shares of cooked rice and meat curry are given to the girls both for their meals and for carrying one share with them to eat on their way home. They are also given *raisi*, *ara*, *manzia*, maize, jackfruits and other seasonal crops. The boys go up to certain distance to see the girls off. On the way the girls massage the boys and the boys decorate their buns with wild flowers, buns with wild flowers.

Common Economic Pursuits—

The members of the dormitory, i.e., the unmarried boys and the girls, have to present gifts to their *Bandhu* partners. Besides, they have to provide food for their friends on the occasion of the latter's visit on ~~visiting~~ expeditions. Such being the collective responsibility of all the members of the dormitory, they all work collectively to enrich their common stock of paddy and other things for meetings such expenses. Thus the boys and the girls cultivate one or two patches of forest every year and raise various crops like paddy and *raisi*. In the months of June and July the *Kangerki* and *Selunki* collect *bangeur* (oil-seeds) from the jungle. *Raisi* and *bangeur* are either sold for money or are exchanged for paddy and rice. Money is used for buying gifts for *Bandhu* friends; and rice, dal, etc., are used for feeding them.



Jangg dance

The *Kanperki* and *Selonki* also go to work as hired labour parties. They cut trees, weed fields, help in harvesting crops and bring wages which are used for common purposes.

Functions of the *Majang*—

The *Majang* institution of the *Juang* has manifold services for people of all age-groups. It has its social, economic, political and magico-religious uses for the *Juang*. Some of these uses are described here.

(1) The *Majang* affords sleeping accommodation for the unmarried boys, for the widowers and for the guests and relatives. Outsiders coming to anybody's house become personal guests of the person concerned and are fed by the latter. Those coming to the village become the guests of the village and it becomes the duty of the villagers to feed them. Wherever they eat, the guests and outsiders always sleep in the *Majang* at night.

(2) *Majang* is the common meeting ground where the village elders gather for sometime after the day's toil to gossip and relax before retiring to sleep. They talk and amuse sitting around the sacred fire of the *Majang* which is kept lighted day and night. Similarly, early in the morning, before the cock crows and before the sun appears in the distant horizon the *Juang* leave their bed. The womenfolk go to fetch water, wash paddy and do other domestic work, whereas the men come to the *Majang* to meet with each other, to talk and get warm by the *Majang* fire.

Important matters affecting the village life are always discussed in the *Majang*. For example, matters like the selection of days for village rituals, decision for changing village site, selection of traditional officers of the village, giving away brides to the *Bandhs* in marriage or proposal for bringing a bride from another village, etc., are first discussed in the *Majang* and all members are free to express their opinion.

(3) The educative role the *Majang* plays in forming the life of the *Juang* youth is very significant. Each married *Juang* couple has one house to sleep and as soon as their children are grown up they are sent to the *Majang* to sleep and are thus kept away from witnessing the sexual act of their parents. After becoming members of the *Majang* and after associating with its senior members they are trained to direct their energy for successful adjustment with the people in social, economic, religious and other aspects of life. The process of socialisation also progresses through the senior-junior relationship of the *Majang* members. The junior members of the *Majang* run errands and fog for the senior members and are taught how to obey their superiors.

While sleeping together the *Kanperki* learn various *chang* rhythms and new songs from each other and from the older persons (widowers) sleeping in the *Majang*. The *Sesukungerk* practise *chang* by joining in the groups of the *Kanperki* when

the latter beat *changus*. The folk-tales and myths of the tribal origin are also learnt while sleeping in the *Majang*.

(4) Life in the *Majang* affords an effective economic organisation for the *Juang* youth. The *Kusgerki* and *Selunki* cultivate one or two patches of *tolla* land every year and the yield is stored for common use. The boys cut down trees, plough field, sow seed and harvest crops; while the *Sefunki* help in hoeing, burning the dried trees and branches, debushing, weeding and harvesting.

5. *Majang* serves as a court-house of the village where the quarrels and conflicts are mitigated. The villagers gather around the *Majang* fire and discuss about the quarrels and other important issues to bring out compromise. In case of major offences the culprit is fined and has to pay rice, goat and money for liquor to the village elders. Otherwise, he might be asked to give one or two rupees for liquor.

Both the intra and inter-village quarrels involving the *Juang* exclusively or both the *Juang* and the non-*Juang* are also settled in the *Majang* in this manner.

(6) *Majang* acts as a store house or "Graingolla" of the village where paddy and other crops are stored in straw bundles by the villagers for the guests and relatives. After the harvest two to five *mai* of paddy is collected from each family of the village and is stored in the *Majang* for feeding the outsiders. The boys and girls also store their stock of paddy and other grains in the *Majang*.

(7) *Majang* is a sacred institution. The drums and *changus* are hung on the *Majang* walls and the god and the goddess for *changus* and drums (known as *Rhina Bodoma* and *Kanchuni*, respectively) are believed to reside inside the *Majang*. For this the girls are directed to plaster the *Majang* frequently. Before going out to perform any ritual the *Nagam* (village priest) and other ritual officers first come to the *Majang*. On the occasion of *Ambo Nas* the *Kusgerki* worship *changus* and drums invoking *Rhina Bodoma* and *Kanchuni*. Many other rituals are also performed inside the *Majang* or in front of it, i.e., on the plaza. The distribution of seed for first sowing is made in the *Majang* where the *Nagam* distributes paddy to each family for the first sowing.

(8) The genuine artistic talents of the *Juang* find expression in the construction of their *Majang*. *Majang* may be called the museum of *Juang* art and decoration. On its pillars and beams are carved figures of birds, beasts and graphic human beings. Moreover, the *Majang* walls are decorated with paintings on the *Ambo Nas* ritual day.

(9) *Majang* may be used as the kitchen on feasting occasion. Meals are cooked for the visitors inside the *Majang* in day time and near the plaza at night. On every ritual day the *Kamandaki* cook their food with the offered materials inside the *Majang*.

(10) The last but not the least function of the Majang is recreational. It provides fun and pleasure to the boys and the girls who are tired after the day's toil and want to enjoy the sweetness of life by beating changes and joining dancing. At times, they find it so enjoyable that they keep dancing and beating changes for days and nights.

Modern Changes in the Majang Organisation

The Majang institution is gradually breaking down and some of the important features of this organisation are gradually vanishing due to the contact of the tribals with the non-tribal people. Impact of outsiders and the changing life of the people have brought about striking changes in the dormitory organization of the Juang. The Juang of the plains villages come in contact with the caste Hindus more closely than the Juang living on hills. As such they have developed a feeling of

hatred towards the changu dances. In some villages, the youths have Ramilla parties. They are taught dance and songs by an Oriya teacher and exhibit their performances in the neighbouring villages for collecting money and grains. The Juang, in general, have also developed hatred towards their traditional dress and ornaments. Some Bilarate Juangs feel that their women should not wear beads and bangles of the traditional variety.

Absence of organized labour and communal economic pursuits on co-operative basis in plains village is really shocking. The members of the dormitory are hardly associating themselves with the affairs of the Majang. They prefer to mind their own business than taking pains for communal efforts. As such they do not cultivate patches of forest land of their own for a common harvest or go to work in a labour party to earn wages in cash or kind which could be used for meeting the expenses relating to the dormitory organisation.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Religion is one of the broad groupings of cultural complex. It completes the adjustment of man in his society by providing security against unknown powers and forces which disturb him. It is the pivot of all human activities and is closely associated with life from conception through birth to death. It has two inter-related constituents, the religious beliefs and the religious practices. Belief is the mode of conception and ritual is the mode of action. The rituals are the starting points of major actions of a society. They throw light on social relations expressing the structural arrangements of the society.

Religion may very well be said to constitute the whole way of life of the Juang. Living amidst hills and forests the Juang believe in various deities, ghosts and spirits dwelling on hills, forests and streams and the ancestral spirits guiding every walk of their life. In order to get rid of the evil attention of these spirits, and in order to protect themselves and their scanty earthly possessions the Juang try to establish a friendly relation with the spirits through appropriate rites and rituals.

The study of the religious life of the Juang throws light on other aspects of their life: economic, social and political. *Pas Panet*, a ritual observed in the month of December-January, for example, unfolds the socio-economic life of the Juang. Besides its religious aspects, it marks the beginning of the new agricultural cycle for the Juang. Until and unless this ritual is performed the Juang do not distribute land for shifting cultivation, do not start felling trees from *tona*, and do not thatch their house. The social importance of the ritual lies in the fact that the persons who are scheduled to leave their parent village are excluded from the *bona fide* villagers who visit the *Nagam* (ritual head) of the village with gifts of grains and seek his blessings. Marriages are strictly prohibited before *Pas Panet* and the parties bringing such proposals to a village before this ritual are fined. The political leaders find full scope to play their role in connection with the distribution of *tona* land in *Pas Panet*. They are the persons who allot patches of *tona* land to different families, and some of the

- leaders like the *Napam* and the *Ardhan* are allotted such land first before it is distributed to other persons.

The religious rites of the Juang show traces of borrowings from the Hindus. The Juang of Keonjhar are less influenced by Hindu religious rites than those living in Dhenkanal. Some of the Hindu deities, are, however, recent borrowings and have not been completely assimilated in the Juang religious system. The core of the Juang religion unaffected by Hindu influences, consists of two High Gods and number of local deities presiding over fields and forests, over hills and rocks, over streams and fountains, and over villages and homes. Further, the unseen world of the Juang is dominated by a number of named and unnamed spirits. Some of these gods and spirits may be described below in order of their dignity.

JUANG PANTHEON

High Gods—*Dharam Deuta* and *Basumata* are the two supreme deities characterized by their benevolent character. *Dharam Deuta* is identified with the Sun God and *Basumata* with the Earth Goddess. Both are respected with high esteem and have equal hold on the earth. Otherwise known as *Basuk*, *Basumata*, and *Dharmatma*, *Basumata* is considered to be the wife of *Dharam Deuta*.

No ritual is performed, and no important matter concerning the social, economic or political life of the Juang is settled without a prayer to *Basumata* and *Dharam*

Deuta. All ritual start with the prayer, "the *Dharam Deuta* above and *Basumata* below", the supreme deities safeguarding the life of the Juang. Offerings are made to them by lifting the gifts in the palms and looking to the sky, and by dropping some of it on the earth. In every liquor ritual homage is paid to *Basumata* and *Dharam Deuta* by sprinkling a few drops on the earth before drinking.

Village Gods—*Gram Sri* is the main deity of the village. She is represented by some long and pointed stone emblems installed in front of the dormitory house. She is worshipped in all the rituals and is believed to protect the village from all kinds of calamities and misfortunes. In case of shifting of village to a new site the stone emblems of *Gram Sri* are brought by the unmarried boys of the village and are installed by the village priest.

Another deity, who is no less important than *Gram Sri*, is *Thunpati* (lit. the tutelary deity of the place). *Thunpati* may either be male or female and is believed to reside on some hills surrounding the village. In Barura, for example, *Bolnipat*, or the hill where from the sacred river *Balarami* has taken its course is considered to be the *Thunpati* of the Barura village. In Phulbadi, their *Thunpati*, called *Phulamaria* and *Nagnali*, are believed to dwell on a hill close to the village. The great *Barocha* Hill of the village *Kudipasa* is believed to be the abode of *Barochami*, the *Thunpati* of *Kudipasa* village. The villagers claim their clan name to be *Barocha*.

named after the *Thunapati*. For a long time they were designated as *Baruwa* clan people, but in course of time, this clan name is overshadowed by village name and *Kudipasa* villagers now call themselves members of *Kasipasa Bok*, rather than *Baruwa Bok*.

Two more deities responsible for the big drums and *chang* of the *Juang* are also equally important. They are called *Koschau* and *Shima Bodma*, the former viewed as the wife of the latter. Both reside in the drums kept inside the dormitory. They take care of the health of the unmarried boys and girls and are specially worshipped by the unmarried boys at the New Mango Eating Ceremony. The villagers have great reverence for the two deities since they have full control over the sound of the drums and *chang*, and unless they are kept in good temper the drums and *chang* do not produce high sound in spite of strong beating. In marriage, offerings of chicken and rice grains are made to them so that the villagers win in the *chang* competition by excelling their opponents in *chang* beating.

Hill and River Deities—Each village has its own set of deities named after the surrounding hills and streams (*chumbak*). The mountains like *Malaygiri*, *Gandhamardhan*, *Ningiri*, *Ramnigiri*, *Baruwa* and *Guptaganga*, etc., are supposed to be the domains of some gods. The forest gods are likewise named after local forests. The term *Pat* is a general term denoting the forest gods and some such forest gods are *Gulipat*,

Bengipat, *Kobipat*, *Uttipipat*, etc. Stream and river deities are as important as hill and forest deities, and are named after the local streams and rivers. The River *Baitarani*, flowing from *Guptaganga Pahara* in *Keonjhar* is considered sacred both by the *Juang* and the non-*Juang*.

The river deities are primarily harmless, but the spirits residing in streams and fountains and on hills sometimes attack human beings by bringing headache and fever to them. They are propitiated with chicken, rice grains, and other offerings. In all major rituals the *Juang* pay homage to hill, forest, river and stream deities and pray them for protection.

Deified Heroes or Mythical Characters

Rusi and *Rusani* are always honoured by the *Juang*. They are believed to be the first couple living on earth at a time when God did not think of creating other human beings. They were the first creation of God who dwell in the thickest woods of *Guptaganga Pahara* on the *Rusi Tengor* near *Gonasika*. They made the first fire and collected tubers from the jungle. They used to go to the forest every day with a digging stick (*buluk*) to eke out their living. In course of time this sacred pair of the Earth gave birth to sons and daughters who were the ancestors of the present *Juang*. It was "the time of truth" and the *Juang* did not speak any falsehood. They were honest, truthful and hard working and they had so high spiritual

power that whatever they cursed bore fruit without fail. They were covering their bodies with leaves and this made them to be known as *Patmas* (leaf-wearers). Now that era is over, and the world has witnessed countless changes. The *Juang* have not been able to keep up their purity and sanctity by speaking the truth.

Their wants have now increased, and they have to labour day and night to fight against the acute poverty they are confronted with. But in spite of all trials and tribulations and woes and worries, the *Juang* never forget the glory of their past. They take pride to call themselves the descendants of *Rud* and *Rusini* and feel elated and honoured for their glorious past.

Rud and *Rusini* are rarely worshipped by the *Juang*, but they occupy a pivotal position in many *Juang* legends.

Family Spirits

The *Juang* believe that their dead ancestors continue to live as spirits. They reside in the *Dauli* portion of the house and keep a constant watch over the activities of their descendants. Each house has a *Dauli* where the ancestral spirits live, and they are offered shares of food on important occasions. The ancestors are called *pitruki*, and may protect or perturb the living beings in various ways. If they are dissatisfied they kill cattle, ruin crop and cause bodily ailments. They also visit their relatives in dreams and express their wishes. The *Juang* worship their *pitruki*

out of fear for help and protection, and also have high regards for them. They offer *puja* to their *pitruki* both at communal rites and in their individual houses. Before new fruits or new cereals are consumed these are, first offered to various gods and to the ancestors. Breach of this taboo offends the *pitruki* thus resulting in serious consequences. Sometimes, the ancestors may cause illness and want liquor from the offenders. In such case the *Rusini* (witch-diviner-cum-curer) detects the disease and offers tobacco, liquor or chickens to satisfy the spirit.

If the ancestors are pleased they watch the fields of their descendants and look after their welfare by safeguarding them from dangers. The *Juang* also pray to their *pitruki* at all liquor rituals. Before liquor is drunk, the *Juang* pour a few drops of liquor on earth praying *Basumati*, *Dharam Devotee* and the *pitruki*.

Lastly, the *Juang* never neglect the wish of their *pitruki* in important matters concerning the village-life. Decisions regarding marriage or changing of village site are never finalized without knowing the intention of the *pitruki* through divination. They keep piles of rice grains and read omens by performing the 'pungi' ritual. If the ancestors object to certain proposal they convey it by disturbing the position of the rice-grains. In such case the proposal is at once abandoned and a new proposal is sought for.

Hindu Borrowings

Now, the Juang are not quite unfamiliar with Hindu Gods. The Juang of Keonjhar are beginning to borrow Hindu traits from the Oriyas, while those of Dhenkanal have long since adopted many traits of Hindu religion in course of their contact with the neighbouring caste people. Hindu deities like *Mahadev*, *Parvati*, *Laxmi*, *Thakurani*, *Durga*, *Rama* and *Sita* are now worshipped by the Juang. In Dhenkanal, the Juang have high regard for *Bholadeo* while *Sios* and *Parvati* of *Gomasika* temple are considered to be the supreme deities of Keonjhar. Both the Juang and the non-Juang bring things of offerings and slaughter goat or sheep in the temple at *Gomasika*.

Religious Functionaries

In order to get the favour of deities and to avert the ill will of the malevolent spirits, the Juang have ritual specialists to propitiate them properly. The ritual specialists work as intermediaries between the natural and the supernatural. They offer sacrifices to the deities in various rituals and try to keep them in good temper. Such specialists have higher status in society and they enjoy special powers and privileges.

The ritual specialists are called *Kamundaki*. They are generally the elderly men of the village who undergo a series of special rites to achieve the role of *Kamundu*. The rites include such steps like slaughtering goats and chickens and offering liquor, rice and other things to all the deities and *pitruki*. All these involve heavy expenses and unless a man is rich and

unless he is warned by his ancestors in dreams he does not like to become a *Kamundu*. The *Kamundu* has to give feast to his villagers on certain occasions, and for every birth, marriage or death cases in his own family and in the families of his close kindred he has to get himself purified by offering goats and chickens to the deities and the ancestors. The roles and responsibilities of the ritual specialists are described below.

Nagam

Nagam is the ritual head of the village. He is called *Baitu* or *Dihari* in Dhenkanal and officiates in all village rituals. Each village has its own *Nagam*, but at times one *Nagam* may officiate in two or three villages. In Keonjhar the selection of *Nagam* is made strictly on the principles of generation. The oldest man of the senior most generation is selected as *Nagam* and his office passes laterally along each kinship generation to the next senior male member. In no case, the office is transmitted from father to son, rather the brother occupying the old *Nagam*'s generation get the subsequent chance to be *Nagam*. The *Nagam* being the senior most man of the village (senior both in biological and social age) exercises considerable status and authority in the village.

A new *Nagam* is formally appointed by the villagers who handover a leaf-cupful of burning incense to him and declare him to be their *Nagam*. He performs all village rituals and is given special shares of grains on important occasions. Every year, the *Nagam* is given a *bhrudi*, i. e., free labour

party, in which one member from each family of the village goes to work on the *Negam's* field.

Ardhan

Ardhan or *Padhar* is the secular head of the village, but he always plays an important role in every ritual. He is given the charge of *Pat Khanda* (the big axe) and with this axe he slaughters the animals to be offered to various deities.

The role of the *Ardhan* in rituals is to slaughter the animals after the animals are ritually offered to the deities. Slaughtering of animals, however, is purely men's work, and since the females cannot do so, they are debarred from the privilege of assuming the role of *Ardhan*. When a *Negam* dies his wife may continue to work as *Negam* and perform the rituals, but the wife of the *Ardhan* cannot assume the office of the *Ardhan*.

Naik, Dangar and Adhikari

Naik, *Dangar* and *Adhikari* may sit with the *Negam* and *Ardhan* in all rituals by virtue of the special rites they have undertaken to become *Karamanda*. The *Naik* and the *Adhikari* have no specific role of play in socio-religious life, but the *Dangar* is viewed to be an assistant of the *Negam*. He helps the *Negam* in carrying the offering materials to ritual spot, and communicates the news and decisions to all the villagers by shouting in front of the dormitory house. No generation principle is followed for the selection of these posts and he who can afford to spend for *Karamanda* ritual can be the *Naik*, *Dangar* or *Adhikari*.

Kaba Kanger or Matha Kanger

It has already been stated that all the unmarried boys sleep in the dormitory and have their own associations. The eldest and the senior most of them is called *Kaba Kanger* and he performs the duty of *Negam* in certain rituals. In *Amb Nas* (New Mango-eating) ceremony the *Kaba Kanger* worships the drums and cenger and offers chicken and rice shares to *Bhima Bodama*, *Konchuni*, and other deities. In certain villages he also conducts all important village rituals in the absence of *Negam*.

Family Heads as Priests

The head of each family also acts as a priest for propitiating his family ancestors. *Negam* officiates in all communal worship, but after the communal worship is over the family-heads perform a minor ritual in their own house and offer cooked rice, chicken, liquor, etc., to their family ancestors. Rituals associated with the life-cycle of the *Juang* are always performed by the family heads.

Religious Practices

References are made about the *Juang* religious practices in the yearly writings of Risley, Dalton, and others. Dalton wrote that "the even tenor of their lives is unbroken by any obligatory religious ceremony" and "they offer fowls to the sun when in distress to the earth". Risley writes that "offerings are made at sowing time and harvest, and forest gods are carefully propitiated, and offerings to the departed ancestors are also made in October". The *Juang* are no doubt a religious people the monotony of whose life is frequently broken by feasts and

festivities and by rites and rituals of various kinds.

From the structural aspects of the Juang rituals, i.e., the equipments necessary, the procedures followed, and the personnel involved, it can be said that almost all the rituals are stereotyped and show little variation. The equipments required for all rituals are almost standardized. These consist of such simple materials like turmeric powder, husked rice, vermilion, incense and wicks, milk, molasses, liquor, leaf-cups, flower, and animals for sacrifice, such as goat, sheep, pig, chicken or buffalo depending on the nature of the ritual. The axe is the only tool by which the animals are slaughtered.

The procedures in the ritual vary from complex to simple rites, but the general trend is almost standardized. The ritual procedures include such steps like—smearing the worshippers' spot with cowdung and water, drawing circle mark with turmeric powder, putting vermilion dabs inside the circle and on

the deity, keeping the wicks and incense burning, washing the husked rice, adding milk to it and making piles of offerings, pouring milk and/or molasses water on each pile, and offering of liquor and cooked rice. For sacrifices the steps involved include worshipping the animal by sprinkling water over it, lifting it and making over a formal offering, making the animal to eat some of the rice grains from the piles offered to the deity, pulling some feathers or hairs from it and throwing them into the incense, slaughtering the animal and worshiping the head by putting it on the rice-piles. The final step of the rituals is to bow down and pray for the health and happiness of the people and for the future prosperity.

All these show that the rituals of the Juang lack much variation and it would be sufficient to give a list of their annual festivals. The following table gives such a list of the rituals performed by the Juang.

Table 12
Annual festive Cycle of the Juang

Sl. No.	Name of the Ritual	Months when performed	Significance	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1	<i>Par Pusel</i>	November—December	Marks the beginning of the agricultural cycle of the year. Tolls land distributed to individual families. Marriages cannot be performed until <i>Par Pusel</i> is observed.	Very significant in Kroujhar.

Sl. No.	Name of the Ritual	Months when performed	Significance	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
2	<i>Amb Nas</i>	February-March	To mark the begin- ning of eating green mangoes. Mango blooms offered to deities and ancestral spirits. Unmarried boys worship drums and change in the dormitory. The last day of <i>Amb</i> <i>Nas</i> is the cere- monial day for communal hunt- ing.	Very significant in Keonjhar.
3	<i>Tirtha</i> (ceremony for first sowing of paddy).	March	Paddy seed is distri- buted to individual family heads by the <i>Hogam</i> to observe the first sowing.	Important both in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal
4	<i>Boja</i>	May-June	A day for feasting and playing on swings.	Important in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. Borrowed from the Oriya.
5	<i>Asadi</i>	June-July	Bengal fruits are offered to the deities before these are eaten. Marks wedding and debus h i n g o f fields.	Important in Keonjhar.
6	<i>Macchari Paja</i> or <i>China Nas</i> .	July-August	To mark the eating of new chana, green, cucumber, maize and beans, etc.	Not observed in Dhenkanal.

Sl. No.	Name of the Ritual	Months when performed	Significance	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
7	<i>Pink Puja</i> . . .	July-August . . .	Performed on hills. Pray the forest and hill deities for protection of soft paddy from the ravages of wild animals.	Not observed in Dhenkanal;
8	<i>Gamha</i> . . .	Ditto . . .	Worship of cattle . . .	Observed in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. Seems to be borrowed from Orissa.
9	<i>Guda Bha Nuu</i> (sowing of new guda rice).	August-Septem- ber.	New guda-paddy is offered to the deities and to the ancestors.	Observed in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal.
10	<i>Kishibeng</i> and <i>Kala r-p-a-ba</i> (new eating of soft paddy and <i>Kalari</i>).	September- October.	Observed in a grand scale. New soft paddy, <i>sava</i> and <i>Kalari</i> are offered to the ancestors.	Observed only by hill-Juangs of Keonjhar.
11	<i>Gonda Bis</i> (offer- ing of soft paddy, <i>sava</i> , <i>Sahir</i> , etc., by individual families in their soft.)	October- November.	The family heads observe this ritual on their respective soft fields and offer shares to their own family ancestors. The ritual may also be observed for the harvest of <i>sahir</i> or <i>rat</i> .	Strictly confined to the hill Juangs of Keonjhar. The plains dwellers of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal observe the same ritual for the harvest of soft and paddy.
12	<i>Gurubar Osha</i> . . .	Ditto . . .	Performed in honour of <i>Laxmi</i> , the Hindu Goddess for wealth.	Purely an Orissa ritual and per- formed by a few Juangs of Dhenkanal.

It is evident from the above table that most of the rituals of the Juang are associated with their annual agricultural cycle. The rituals are either performed to mark the beginning of the important agricultural activities like distribution of falls land, felling down trees from falls, ploughing, sowing, weeding, debushing, and harvesting of crops and to mark the eating of new fruits and crops. The festivals like *Gamho* observed for cattle worship, *Raja* observed for feasting and merry-making and *Gurubar Osha* observed in honour of *Laxmi*, are purely Hindu rituals and have been taken up by the Juang from the caste Hindus.

The Juang have no temple or special shelters where their gods reside. It has already been described that *Dharam Deota* dwells on the sky, *Busumata* on the earth and the hill and forest deities reside in the forests and on hills. They all are worshipped near the *Gramsir* who is represented by elongated stone emblems installed near the dormitory house. Ancestral spirits supposedly take shelter in the *daula* portion of every family house.

To conclude, it can be said that the Juang do not worship the gods and spirits from philosophical point of view or from the devotional out-sprung of their heart. They are very practical in their temperament and worship the gods and spirits to get economic benefits and safety and security.

CHAPTER VIII

LEADERSHIP PATTERN

A study of the leadership pattern of the Jangang throws light on their socio-political organization. The position of the leaders in a society is very important. The leaders not only enjoy status and high prestige in the society, but they exercise considerable authority in getting things done in the most regularized manner. Their voice in deciding the quarrels and conflicts is unique.

The leaders may be classified as traditional and new leaders depending on the antiquity of their offices, or as village leaders, and leaders of the pith on the basis of the extent of area of their operation. It is however, convenient to discuss the roles of the village leaders before switching on to the leaders of the wider organization.

Village leaders

As has been described earlier, each village is a political unit having its own set of officers. These officers are in an informal way the leaders of the village and they have more voice in the village affairs than others. The village officers-cum-leaders are mainly three in number, two of whom are traditional leaders and one is a new office created by the Government.

Negam—*Negam* or *Baita* or *Dihuri* is the ritual head of the village. He is, as far as possible, the oldest man of the village, older than others both in biological and social age. He being the oldest man of the senior most generation is viewed with more respect. His chief role is to officiate in all the communal rituals of the village, but he also exercises his power in such cases like distribution of *tolla* land, fixing up date for village rituals, and in deciding quarrels and conflicts. In all cases, however, he consults with the village elders and gives due consideration to their opinion.

Ardhan—*Ardhan* or *Padhan* is preferably the *Negam*'s immediate junior, and is senior to all other villagers except the former. He is the secular head of the village, and his office has been created by the *Rajas* (kings) of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. His chief function is to collect tax from all the families of the village, to allot land to each family, to settle village quarrels and to inform the important matters of the village to the Government. During the reign of the *Rajas*, the *Padhan* was extremely powerful and was responsible

for reporting the village affairs to the *Rajya*. It is after the independence, that he has been responsible to the Government for his duty. In judicial affairs the *Ardukan* has greater role to play than the *Nagam*.

Besides his judicial powers, the *Padhan* also plays an important role in all the village rituals. While the *Nagam* makes offerings to the deities, the *Padhan*'s role is to slaughter the animal and present the head to the *Nagam* for offering.

In Dhenkanal, the *Padhan* means the richest man of the village, and hence the *Padhans* of all *Juang* villages are usually rich persons. In Keonjhar, on the other hand, wealth is no criterion to be a *Padhan*. A person of the senior most kinship generation of the village and the next oldest man to the *Nagam* is selected as *Padhan*. Unlike the *Padhans* of Dhenkanal, the *Padhans* in Keonjhar villages have to undergo distinct rites and ritual to assume their office, and this office combines both ritual and political powers.

Dangas, Adhikari and Naiks—*Dangas, Adhikari and Naiks* are primarily ritual officers. They are bona fide ritualists and their role is to help the *Nagam* and *Padhan* in all village rituals. Except their roles in rituals they have no other definite roles to play in the village affairs.

"Member"—"Member" is a new post created by the Government after the establishment of the Community Development Block in

the various sectors of the district. Each village has one Ward Member to work as its representative in the Panchayat. The Member is elected by his villagers in a formal meeting summoned by the V. L. W., or any other Block representative. He is directly responsible to the immediate Government agencies for reporting the important matters of the village, and to encourage developmental works in the village executed by the Block-staff. During the tour of Government officers and other staff in the village, the Member has to arrange for their comfort. The Members are by far the most prompt and clever persons of the village. Since the Member has to keep contact with the Government agencies the villagers take much care in selecting the best man of the village as their Member.

The Members are also invariably rich persons of the village. The fact that the Member is elected by the villagers, reinforces that he must have exercised some influence in the traditional system of the society, even if he holds no formal role in that system. He has full freedom in deciding the important matters of the village, and it is noticed that in most villages the words of the Members weigh much in settling disputes.

Village Council

It is necessary to discuss about the *modus operandi* of the various leaders in deciding village affairs. Each *Juang* village has a set of formal leaders to execute various duties, but it is erroneous to think

that they are vested with supreme authority in expressing their verdicts in all spheres of life. In fact, the Juang are a democratic people and the real authority of the village is vested not with the *de facto* leaders, but with the village elders called *Bors Bhaniki*. Before any matter is finalized it must first be discussed by the village elders in the dormitory house. In such discussion, every elder has full freedom to express his opinion freely. It is difficult to materialise any proposal unless the issue is unanimously agreed to by all the village elders. The village elders have the right to dismiss any of the village officers for his inefficiency and select a suitable substitute.

The ritual-head (*Nugum*) of the village has important roles to play in the village rituals but he has little voice in the village council. The secular officer (*Padhan*) is responsible for certain external affairs of the village, and has a definite role to play in the village rituals. But he does not necessarily exercise supreme power in the internal affairs of the village. The other officers hold no power. So, it is evident that the offices of the leaders confer responsibility, but no real authority. The offices also entail considerable economic burden owing to which the offices very often pass over to persons of junior generation on account of the unwillingness of the proper persons to assume the offices.

The topics discussed in the village council for decision include matters like quarrel between two villagers, breach of minor taboos

in the village, failure to discharge the duties in case of the unmarried boys and girls, break down of joint families, inheritance cases, and love cases between the boys and girls of *bandhu* clans, etc. The guilty persons are fined, the amount varying from liquor worth two to four rupees to heavy amounts consisting of a few mounds of rice, a goat, and a few rupees for liquor. The fines are utilized to hold a feast which is shared by all the villagers and liquor is poured on the ground to mark the mitigation of quarrels and conflicts. In cases of love intrigues between *bandhu* boys and girls the villagers detect the offender by asking the girl. The boy is fined with stuffs of rice, goat and money for liquor, and the girl is made over to him in marriage. The cases of incestuous love affair, adultery, and pre-marital pregnancy cannot be decided at the village level. These matters are referred to the Sardar (headman of *pith*) and to the elders of all the villages of the *pith*, who are summoned to meet in a council and decide the matter.

Inter-Village Councils

Certain matters like dispute on land boundary between two villages, disputes about divorce and separation of marrying partners cannot be decided by one party. For this the elders of both the villages meet together and finalize the matter. Disputes concerning land are difficult to be decided in the village level, and very often such cases are brought to the Court of Law for judgment. But the cases of divorce and separation are decided without much trouble.

In such cases, the groom's villagers go to the bride's village and a council is held where the matter is discussed by both the parties. If the groom's family is found fault with for such separation, and the girl is unwilling to go to him, her relatives may claim a cow or a bullock from the groom for divorcing the girl. But, if the girl is proved to be erring, the groom's party claim for the recovery of the full amount of bride-wealth paid at the time of marriage. Generally, the full amount of bride-wealth cannot be paid by the girl's parents, and the groom may take one of the former's cattle in lieu of the bride-wealth paid by him. It is after this that the formal divorce ritual is performed by the villagers of both parties by pouring liquor on the ground and announcing the formal divorce. After the divorce, the groom loses all claims over the girl and she is made free to be remarried anywhere. In case the groom's villagers do not like to permit the girl to be remarried elsewhere, they forgo compensation for their bride-wealth and never perform the formal divorce ritual, and until and unless the divorce ritual is performed the groom's villagers continue to exercise their jural claim over the girl who remains as their daughter-in-law for all her life. In such case, she cannot be remarried elsewhere, and when she dies her husband finances for her funeral.

Pirh Organization

As discussed in the previous chapter the Juang area of Keonjhar is divided into four pirhs, which are the maximal

traditional territorial units. Each pirh has one Sardar who, before independence, was directly responsible to the Raja. At present he exercises his judicial powers in deciding cases like incest, premarital pregnancy, witchcraft of serious type, homicide, etc. Such cases mobilise delegations from all the villages in a pirh, or in some cases from the villages of two pirhs. In deciding all such cases, the Sardar however is not the supreme authority. The delegates invited from all the villages have equal voice in the council.

In minor cases, the offender is fined a few mounds of rice, one or two goats and a few rupees for liquor. Besides, he has to feed the delegates once. The fines realized from the offender is spent for a feast on the spot. In case of incest the guilty persons are ostracized from the village. All their belongings are either destroyed or are sold away and the money is spent for the feast arranged by the *Bessa* (the delegates) people.

The post of Sardar is an appointed one and is not purely honorary. He gets a monthly remuneration of five rupees and a pair of dress every year in the Juang-Bhuniya Darbar (council) held by the Government. The Sardar exercises his power if called for a pirh council, but has little or no authority in the internal affairs of the village.

Jati-Sabha of Dhenkanal Juangs

The Juang of Dhenkanal have a similar territorial organization as pirh organization of Keonjhar.

Here the Juang area is judicially divided into a number of local units called *Desa*. Each *Desa* is composed of ten or more villages and the villagers meet once every year to discuss various incidents of the year affecting their tribal life. The council which meets every year is called *Jati Sabha* (literally, the caste assembly), and is a variant of Orly caste assemblies, which still continue to gain popularity among the Tel (Oilmen) of that area. Each village delegates a representative from among its villagers to the *Jati Sabha*. The senior most *Rehers* is called *Bud Rehers* who is viewed to be the head of the council.

The council discusses and decides matters relating to illicit sex relations between the kin members, divorce, liquor-drinking (as this is severely looked down upon by the Juang of Dhenkanal and they fight tooth and nail to prohibit it), beef-eating, widow-marriage, divorce, and quarrels and conflicts on major issues. This "Caste-Assembly" is no doubt more formal and powerful than the most informal assembly of Keonjhar Juangs, and in the latter case it is very difficult to get a thing done quickly.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION

The Juang are not an isolated people and they never live away from the forces of the outside culture. In Keonjhar they live in close proximity of the Bathudi and Bhuiya tribes. The Pano, Chasa, Tell, Gour and other caste-people have made their way to Juang area and have settled with them from long past. The Juang have migrated to Dhenkanal and Palihsara due to expansion and more possibly to escape exploitation and tyranny of the then rulers of Keonjhar State. In Dhenkanal and Palihsara they are diffused over a number of villages where they live amidst the vast army of varying caste people such as the Chasa, Gour, Tell, Sundhi, etc. The forces of Hindu culture and Hindu ways of living have influenced the Juang way of life both in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, but the changes are not so striking in Keonjhar as in Dhenkanal. In Keonjhar, the Juang of Juang pith live in their original land and they have full control over the cultivated and uncultivated land of their village. The few caste people living in Juang villages of Juang pith are made tenants. They have little or no independence

whatever in exercising their powers and privileges. They must pay their annual land revenue regularly in cash or kind, contribute funds to Juangs for village rituals, and finance other contingent expenses of the village. The Gour are required to supply milk and milk products for all village rituals; sheep, goat, or chicken for important rituals and a buffalo-calf for the Nankhia (New rice-eating) cere mony. In general, the caste people living in these Juang villages contribute money, grains, goat, sheep, chicken and other offering materials for Juang rituals. After the year's harvest they give money and a few measures of grains for payment of annual land revenue of the village. Funds are raised from them to meet such contingent expenses like pleading cases in the Government over land disputes, and in carrying out other matters relating to the Government. If any non-Juang goes against the decision of the Juang or commits any wrong he is immediately summoned to the village council of the Juang and is fined, the fine taking the form of feast and liquor for the

village elders. The non-Juang inhabiting the Juang villages observe the Juang rituals, taboos and prohibitions for the safety and security of the village and they share in the belief system of the Juang. Like the Juang, they do not eat any fruit or crop before the Juang perform necessary rituals and offer the first fruit to the deities. They also believe that breach of such taboo will result in fatal calamities in the village like tiger menace, death of cattle and human beings due to snake-bite, failure of crop, and so on. In this area, however, there is very little scope for the alien elements of culture being thrust upon the Juang. The Juang are no doubt influenced by their caste neighbours, but they have also been able to diffuse some of their own culture traits among the caste people.

The inter-group relation in Dhenkanal is completely different from what has been described above. Here, homogeneous Juang villages, or settlements predominantly inhabited by the Juang are very rarely met with. The Juang of this place live sporadically over the Sadar, Ramakhyangan, and Pallishara subdivisions and they live along with the caste people. They live in separate wards in the main Oriya villages, or are found in small hamlets of labourers. Living with the Oriyas it is difficult for them to maintain the traits of their traditional culture. Their attempts to keep up the traditional tribal culture are mocked at by the Oriyas who consider their traditional dress, ornaments, and standard of beauty

to be ugly and primitive, their social customs relating to birth, marriage, and death to be most uncivilized, and their songs and dance as open expression of sex feelings. The Juang of such place are frequently ridiculed, condemned, and discouraged for their tribal customs and manners, and in order to raise their status in the society, the Juang find no way out except adopting the Oriya way of life. The rapid process of acculturation has thus led to the decay of traditional Juang culture in Dhenkanal, and the present way of life of the Juang of Dhenkanal is a mere imitation of the Hindu way of life.

In the course of their interaction, with the various caste people and their increasing association with the outside world the Juang have witnessed a lot of changes in their traditional culture. After the establishment of Community Development Blocks in the Juang areas, and with developed communication facilities the Juang are frequently coming in contact with the Government officers. Fairs, markets and liquor shops in the plains have attracted many a Juang to come in contact with various people and thereby help culture contact. The advent of railways has thrust great change on the Juang of Dhenkanal. A wild gulf of difference exists between the Juang of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal though both are in the process of adopting Oriya way of life. The material aspect of the Juang culture has undergone a great change. The tiny huts which were* "amongst the smallest that

*E. T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (Calcutta, 1872)

human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings" have given place to solid and strong houses. Some Juangs have constructed houses with windows, and a few rich ones have houses with tile-roofing. The household appliances including the husking mortar and pestles, a few earthen and gourd vessels, bamboo tubes, and leaf cups and plates have been replaced by more substantial, costly and durable articles. However, *suhi* (gourd vessel) continues to linger in Juang villages of Keonjhar and are used for fetching water and carrying liquor and grain to distant places. Modern umbrellas have pushed their leaf counterparts out of many homes. *Hurricane* lanterns and flash lights are gradually gaining popularity among the Juang.

The dress and ornaments of the Juang have been changed to a greater extent. Bamboo combs which were once a prized possession of the Juang girls, and which the unmarried boys made with great care to make and present those to their sweet-hearts are fast disappearing and giving away to plastic and wooden combs of the market. The traditional ornaments which consisted of a whole bunch of head necklaces, a number of heavy brass bangles, and a few brass and alloy rings are being discarded. The women are more attracted towards dazzling glass and plastic bangles, and in Dhenkanal rich Juangs have adorned their women with all varieties of silver and gold ornaments. The dress of the women

which consisted of "a string around their waist, with a bunch of leaves before and behind,"⁴ is no more encountered now-a-days, though some old Juangs still remember about their leaf-dress of the past. Shoes have gathered prestige value in the Juang society, and some young people have got cheap chappals and canvas shoes. Bi-cycles are no more an exclusive possession of the caste people as some Juang have purchased bi-cycles. In the village Kudiposa, there were four bi-cycles won by the Juang.

The economic life of the Juang has been greatly influenced by their neighbouring caste people. The Juang have taken up plough-cultivation from the Oriyas to increase their farm output. Moreover, the economy of the Juang exhibits three stages of development in Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Pallahara. The Juang of Keonjhar eke out their living mainly by shifting cultivation and by collection of roots, fruits, greens and other edible jungle products. This is due partly to their primitive agricultural practices and partly to the rocky and hilly area they inhabit. The Juang of Dhenkanal live in plains villages like the Oriyas and they adopt low-land cultivation just as their neighbouring Oriya agriculturists. In Pallahara, however, the situation is completely different. After the enforcement of Forest restrictions the Juang of this area are forbidden to cultivate *teesta* land. They are neither permitted to cut *teesta* land, nor do they have enough

⁴W. W. Jaffer, A Statistical Account of Bengal (London, 1877), Vol. XIX.

pisces land to construct irrigated paddy plots. Being handicapped in both ways the Juang of this place have taken up basket-making as the main source of their living. Bamboo has rich growth in the forests of Malyagiri and the Juang find profitable to cut bamboo from the forest and weave into various patterns of baskets. The advent of railways to Dhenkanal and construction of roads have afforded ample labour opportunities to the Juang. The Juang find construction work profitable, and they work as daily labourers in construction work.

Change in the social life of the Juang is the most remarkable. The Juang of Keonjhar have developed hatred for Chhangu dance and songs, and they have introduced *kirtan* and *jatra* parties as sources of their recreation. The dormitory life and the associated youth organization which continues to flourish in Keonjhar, have lost their charm in Pallabha, but in Dhenkanal these have come to a decay. Marriage rites of the Juang have been thoroughly changed and unlike the custom in Keonjhar, the Juang groom of Dhenkanal goes to the bride's house to get himself married. The girl is no more brought to the groom's village by her village women and her dormitory friends. Unlike the customs in Keonjhar and Pallabha, the Juang of Dhenkanal have abolished the system of bride-wealth. The grooms' parents no more pay heavy amounts of rice, cloth and money as bride-wealth to get their son married; rather the bride's parents give ornaments, utensils, grains,

etc., to their daughter as a token of love and affection. The chhangu competition between the groom's and the bride's villagers is gradually declining in Keonjhar, and have come to an end in Dhenkanal since a pretty long time. Many of the traditional funerary rites and customs are gradually dropped off in Dhenkanal and just like the Oriyas, the Juang of Dhenkanal observe death pollution for ten days (not two to three days, as in Keonjhar) and they observe a series of taboos as observed by the caste people.

The religious life of the Juang of Keonjhar has been least affected by the caste people. Here, the Juang observe the same rites and rituals with great details to avoid the displeasure of the local deities. In Chapter seven it has been dealt to what extent the Juang rituals are closely connected with their annual agricultural cycle. With the introduction of low land paddy cultivation a few new rituals for low land paddy have been newly adopted by the plains Juang of Keonjhar. In Dhenkanal, however, the Juang have cut short their annual festive cycle, and they do not observe many rituals which are performed by the hill Juang of Keonjhar. The Juang pantheon, however, has been more elaborate. The Juang believe in their tribal deities, but feel content to get the protection of the more powerful Hindu deities. Some of them believe that the Hindu gods and goddesses are more powerful, and by worshipping them most of the Oriyas have gained much wealth and power. *Maheśvara*, *Laxmi*, *Thakurani*, *Parbati*, *Baladev* and *Durga* of the Hindu pantheon are

now worshipped by the Juang and in Dhenkanal the Juang follow the footprints of the Oriyas in their religious life.

In educational sphere, the Juang are still lagging far behind the general mass. In Dhenkanal, a few Sevashrams have been opened by the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department to encourage primary education among the Juang but in the Juang areas of Keonjhar such schools are very few in number. There are, however, a few L. P. Schools in some of the Juang villages of Keonjhar, but most of these schools are not properly functioning. Little or no attempt is made to create interest in the Juang for school education. The teachers are non-tribals and they being the people of that locality have contempt for the Juang. Neither do they encourage the Juang children to come to school nor do the Juang feel the utility of modern education. It is only in Dhenkanal that many Juangs are interested to give education to their children. They see their Oriya neighbours sending children to the school and in order to raise their social status the Juang also try to give education to their children. There are a few matriculates among the Juang in Dhenkanal. Some Juangs have been employed as teachers in schools and some have gone outside the district for services. In general, the percentage of literacy is very low among the Juang. Out of the total 21,890 Juangs only 988 persons are literate. The percentage of illiteracy is as high as 95.48 in general which is 91.36 for males and 99.58 for females.

The Juang are quite a friendly people. They are honest, truthful and hard working. They are highly optimistic and they have little worry for their future. They like to eat and drink well whenever food is available and they hardly plan for their future. In spite of their hard labour in fields and forests the Juang have the ill luck of meeting frequent crop failures, but they unlike the Oriyas do not like to increase their worries unnecessarily. Just after the harvest, a Juang spends lavishly on rich food and liquor, and as a consequence his harvest of the year is exhausted within a few months. The Juang can hardly stand hunger, and in time of their need incur heavy loans. Both the Juang and Bhuinya are poverty-stricken but the Bhuinya can struggle more to fight against poverty. While most of the Juangs are sinking under heavy loans the Bhuinya stand as a contrast to the Juang in this respect. The Bhuinya are not as primitive as the Juang. They are a prolific tribe spread over a wide area and most of them live in plains village along with the prosperous Oriyas. They are more reasonable and they enjoy much higher social status than the Juang. They are capable of thinking in a broader frame of reference like many advanced Oriya people and thus can better plan for their future. Being wiser as a rule, than the Juang, they do not borrow without forethought. Unlike the Juang, they would rather tolerate starvation than run to the money lenders. The Bhuinya men are not more hard working than the Juang men, but their women are very efficient

housewives. They work hard from dawn to dusk collecting greens, roots, fruits, tubers and other edibles from the jungle to supplement their family diet. They go to market to sell loads of forest collections and bundles of firewood which fetch them a good sum. Hence, the Bhuiyans are much less indebted than the Juang.

The Juang rarely want to wound the feelings of others by telling naked truth. They are more introvert in nature. They might not feel friendly with somebody, but never express their inner feelings openly unless they are heavily drunk. The Juang are a democratic people and before taking any decision they seek the opinion of all the village elders in the dormitory. If all agree unanimously, the matter is accepted, but the objection of any single person may be sufficient to reject a proposal. They have great suspicion of the outsiders, but once they become friendly they render every help to please the outsiders. They are quite hospitable. Any outsider visiting their village is accommodated in the village dormitory, and in spite of their poverty they collect food-stuffs from every family to provide a meal to their guest. Besides, any family relative visiting a Juang village is viewed as a guest of the village. He is given shelter in the dormitory, and is provided with food by the villagers. Such hospitality is remarkable of the Juang of Keonjhar, but in Dhenkanal the breakdown of dormitory organization has brought an end to such customs.

Many Juang of Keonjhar have little idea about the outer world.

To them the outer world constitute Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Athgarh, Laisa (?), Basnanda, Samalpur, Cuttack, Puri and Calcutta. In their communal rituals, the Juang priest prays for the health of the Juang and of the people of the world at large—the world constituting such places as stated above. The Juang of Dhenkanal are now not ignorant about the affairs of the outer world. They have seen many places besides their home district, and they have been taught in schools about various countries, their people and the varying customs and manners of the peoples of the world.

The Juang do not feel happy to welcome outsiders who want to reside in their village permanently. Most outsiders never give them anything, nor are they sympathetic towards them. They approach the tribals with aversion and scorn and they mock at their tribal way of life. Culture contacts with the local people have in no way helped the Juang to lead a better and healthier life. They have rather given scope for the breeding of contempt and ridicule for the Juang. The Juang have little reason to love their neighbouring caste people. Every contact with them is a contact where the Juang are condemned, despised, and looked down upon. They are the rich people of the locality who lend money and grains to the Juang, and exploit them in every possible way. They tempt the Juang to take loans at the time of their marriage, festivals and during the lean months and demand heavy interest from them at the end of

the year. They charge 50 per cent interest for grains and 100 per cent for money loans, and after the year's harvest they go to the Juang villages demanding grains at cheaper rates for their loans. As soon as the harvest is over, the liquor vendors soon make their way to Juang villages with loads of mohua liquor. They tempt the Juang to drink liquor and demand grains worth much more than the liquor the Juang actually purchased. Such scenes are quite familiar in the Juang villages of Keonjhar, and it is often pitiable to see that the grainary of the Juang is emptied within a few months of the harvest.

The Juang occupy a very low social position in the estimation of their neighbours. They are treated as untouchables by the people of all castes (except the Pano and Ghasi). A Juang never touches a Pano, nor does he accept water or cooked food from him. Likewise, persons of other castes neither touch a Juang nor do they accept water and cooked food from him though the Juang may eat in their house. The close cultural affinities of the Juang with the Bhuiinya and the Bathudi holds the three to be allied tribes. They inhabit the same cultural and geographical area and in their social, economic, religious and political life they exhibit many common features. In Juang legends the Bhuiinya are claimed to be a brother tribe to the Juang, and the Bathudi are considered to be a section of the

main Bhuiinya tribe. Though the three tribes are closely allied it is strange that while the Bhuiinya and the Bathudi enjoy considerable social status, the Juang are treated as very lowly. The Juang say that they continued to enjoy equal social status with the Bhuiinya and the Bathudi, but from the day they ate beef they were considered untouchables by the Oriyas, as well as by the Bhuiinya and the Bathudi. The Juang of Keonjhar are trying to raise their social status by prohibiting beef-eating, but in many interior villages they continue to relish beef as they used to do in the past. The status conscious Juang of Dhenkanal are fighting for social reforms, and they have succeeded in prohibiting liquor-drinking, beef-eating and widow re-marriage through their elaborate tribal panchayat. To strengthen their status in the society they are rapidly taking up Hindu manners and customs. They no longer take pride in their past culture, and are ashamed to think of the primitive Juang of Keonjhar who still lead a most uncivilized life in the remote woods and forest. Risley in 1891 observed the attempts made by the Juang to attain higher social status and he wrote :—

"In course of time, no doubt they will attain a higher social position, and the first step in this direction has already been taken by their partial adoption of some of the Hindu gods".

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11